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ABSTRACT

Some papers from a National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) symposium, "Significant Russian/Soviet Cultural and Pedagogical Developments of the 1980s: Educating American Students for the Year 2000," are presented. After an explanation of the system of transliteration used in the works, the following papers and authors are included: "The USSR: A New Psychology (keynote address)" (S. F. Starr); "The Changing Soviet Scene" (G. Guroff); "The 'New Russian Literature' and Soviet Literature in the 1990s" (M. Lekic); "Ljudmila Petrushevskaja: A New Voice of Glasnost" (H. Segall); "Village Prose in the 1980s: Rewriting and Rereading Literary History" (K. Parthe); "Rethinking the Past and the Gorbachev Thaw" (K. Clark); "The Proficiency Movement: Where Do We Go from Here?" (I. Thompson); "On Evaluating Language Proficiency Gain in Study Abroad Environments: An Empirical Study of American Students of Russian" (R. D. Brecht, D. E. Davidson, R. B. Ginsberg); and "An Overview of 1987, 1988, 1989 NEH Institutes, NEH National Network, and Symposium in Russian Language and Culture" (Z. Dabars). Workshop reports are also given: Introduction (I. Thompson); Curriculum (S. Heyer); Materials (M. K. Frank); Professional Concern (D. M. Frost); and Teacher Preparation (F. Johnson). A list of participants and staff of the 1987, 1988, and 1989 summer institutes is provided. (LB)

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The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH)
and the
Center of Russian Language and Culture (CORLAC)
of Friends School, Baltimore

present

SELECTED PAPERS DELIVERED AT THE NEH SYMPOSIUM IN RUSSIAN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

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Bryn Mawr College
May, 1990

Zita D. Dabars, Editor

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PREFACE

> *Self-knowledge requires that we understand other cultures. Daily life increasingly demands it. The world our children live and work in will seem even smaller than the one we know now. Its parts will be even more tightly linked by technology; its citizens, more interdependent.*
>
> —Lynne V. Cheney, *American Memory*

In these morally responsible times, a corps of Russian language teachers who have intensely studied Russian literature, intellectual history, culture, and everyday life in an atmosphere of shared intellectual inquiry is needed. In the words of Andrej Sinjavskij, Russian writer, literary critic and former political prisoner: "The USSR is like a 'huge metallic garage filled with combustible materials ready to blow up.'" To quote a Moscow high school student who spent a month studying at Friends School and living with a Baltimore family: "Everything is upside down now. Nothing is steady. Eastern Europe is on fire ..... A new era is coming." The hope for making the new era work to the greatest benefit of both nations is to have a generation of young people who are linguistically and culturally prepared to meet the challenges. To accomplish this goal the United States needs teachers of Russian with high language skills and cultural awareness and who are properly supported in their use of the best methodologies and up-to-date materials. The goal of the three (1987, 1988, 1989) Summer NEH Institutes in Russian Language and Culture, a NEH National Network, and a Symposium was to serve these needs.

The Symposium "Significant Russian/Soviet Cultural and Pedagogical Developments of the 1980s: Educating American Students for the Year 2000" was held at Bryn Mawr College in May, 1990. The Symposium united the participants and staff from the three Institutes.

The revised papers published in this volume reflect the varying interests and concerns of the NEH Institutes in Russian Language and Culture, the National Network and the Symposium.

Current affairs in the Soviet Union and the social psychology of Russians as perceived in May, 1990 are the focus of papers which were presented by S. Frederick Starr and Greg Guroff, the Symposium's Keynote Address and Banquet speakers, respectively.

The Soviet literary scene, with emphasis on the last two decades, is examined in the papers of Maria Lekic, Helen Segall and Kathleen Parthé, while a reexamination of the past from the perspective of the Gorbachev era is the focus of Katerina Clark's paper.

Attention to questions of methodology and language learning is given in the papers by Irene Thompson and the collective authors Richard D. Brecht, Dan E. Davidson, and Ralph B. Ginsberg, who examine the Proficiency Movement and Language Proficiency Gain in Study Abroad programs.

An overview of the Institutes and the NEH National Network is presented by Zita D. Dabars. The volume concludes with reports by four NEH Institute participants who spearheaded discussion groups at the Symposium.

The Institutes and the National Network were funded by a substantial grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to the Center of Russian Language and Culture (CORLAC) of Friends School of Baltimore, Inc. in collaboration with Bryn Mawr College and the American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR). The Symposium existed solely by means of support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation and the Ford Foundation. Grateful thanks goes to these foundations and to Stephanie Katz and Angela Iovino at NEH, Scott McVay and Valerie Peed at the Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation, and Peter Stanley at the Ford Foundation for the support they extended to the Russian teaching profession. These foundations have seen the Symposium to its conclusion with the publication of this volume. Institute Co-Directors Dan E. Davidson and I are most grateful to them.

To our host institution, Bryn Mawr College, its administration, faculty, and staff go thanks for attentive service within a peaceful atmosphere and a beautiful setting which was conducive to studying and reflecting. At CORLAC of Friends School, I am grateful for the assistance of Cheryl Draves, Olga Hutchins, Janet Innes, and Curriculum Consultant Irina Dementeva for their attention to details inherent in publishing this volume. To Friends School's Headmaster, W. Byron Forbush, II, appreciation is extended for founding CORLAC in 1984 and for making possible projects such as the NEH Institutes to further the teaching of Russian nationwide.

Zita D. Dabars
Project Director of NEH Grant
CORLAC, Friends School of Baltimore
April, 1991

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

А а	A a	Р р	R r
Б б	B b	С с	S s
В в	V v	Т т	T t
Г г	G g	У у	U u
Д д	D d	Ф ф	F f
Е е	E e	Х х	Kh kh
Ё ё	Jo jo	Ц ц	Ts ts
Ж ж	Zh zh	Ч ч	Ch ch
З з	Z z	Ш ш	Sh sh
И и	I i	Щ щ	Shch shch
Й й	J j	Ъ ъ	"
К к	K k	Ы ы	Y y
Л л	L l	Ь ь	'
М м	M m	Э э	E e
Н н	N n	Ю ю	Ju ju
О о	O o	Я я	Ja ja
П п	P p		

This system of transliteration is used in all texts, quotes and notes except in the case of words whose spelling has been standardized in popular usage.

Keynote Address

The USSR: A New Psychology

May 25, 1990

S. Frederick Starr, President, Oberlin College

I will be speaking about a subject that is undeniably significant—the social psychology of Russians—but of which little is really known, neither by scholars in general nor by me in particular. Several years ago members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee invited me to speak to them on a subject of my choice. I chose the social psychology of the Russian people. I suggested that the reform process in the USSR would succeed not because of the cleverness of a particular leader, the subtlety of new laws, or even the fate of the economy, but because a new psychology in the Russian public supports change. If people have really changed in their view of themselves, their relation to each other, and their views of authority, then reform will work. If they have not, it will not. I argued that such a change has in fact already occurred, and that this gives grounds for optimism over the long-term prospects for political and economic change in the USSR.

The best that can be said of the senators' response was that it was polite. To suggest in Washington that change ultimately depends on factors over which politicians have little control is heresy. Yet I would suggest that this is the case. Unfortunately, the field of social psychology is poorly developed. It lacks Newtonian laws and even general principles that have stood the test of time. In the end, the most interesting insights on the Russian national character come not from social psychologists but from novelists, poets and theologians.

Dostoevskij was preoccupied with the question of the Russian national character, as was Lev Tolstoj, Alexander Herzen, and virtually every other major prose writer. For sheer boldness, few have surpassed the theologian Nicholas Berdjaev who began Chapter One of *The Russian Idea* as follows:

> The attempt to define the national type and the individuality of the people is a matter of very great difficulty .... What will interest me in the following pages is not so much the question of what has Russia been from the empirical point of view, as the question what was the thought of the Creator about Russia.

Clearly, Berdjaev wanted to make a difficult problem more difficult. But he goes on with a more earth-bound observation:

> There is that in the Russian soul which corresponds to the immensity, the vagueness, the infinitude of the Russian land—spiritual geography corresponds to the physical. In the Russian soul there is a sort of immensity of vagueness, a predilection to the infinite such as is suggested by a great Russian plain. For this reason the Russian people have found difficulty in achieving mastery over these vast expanses and in reducing them to orderly shapes. There has been a vast elemental strength in the Russian people combined with a comparatively weak sense of form.

Others have continued this grand tradition, albeit in slightly more concrete form. Ronald Hingley's *The Russian Mind* traces Russian character to communication systems:

> The workings of a mind, whether individual or collective, can only be studied in terms of the signal—words, grunts, gesticulations, and so on—which it transmits. And it is therefore necessary to consider the

> techniques whereby Russians communicate with each other.

A clever approach, but it did not take Hingley very far.

Anthropologist Margaret Mead also wrote on what she called the "modal personality" of Russians—what most of us call "your typical Russian." She ended up surprisingly close to Berdjaev, probably because she took him as her point of departure.

What are some of the generalizations regarding the personality of Russians and their national character? After looking at them, we can then turn to the basic question: Have the Russian personality and national character changed in recent years; and, if so, what are the implications of these changes for political and economic reform in the USSR?

First, let me review some of the prevailing generalizations about the Russian social psychology. They can be summarized in often-asked questions: Why is their music so sad? Why does their army march to songs that celebrate defeat rather than victory? Why is the language so weak in key concepts such as privacy?

Some of these questions themselves have a history. Under Nicholas I (1825-55), Russia adopted an official ideology based on the notions of "autocracy, orthodoxy and *соборность* (sobornost')." The third word refers to the collectivity of the Orthodox Christian Church and has generally been equated with an anti-individualistic social psychology. This was in turn linked with the peasant village commune, an institution which existed throughout Europe in earlier days but which lived on in the more backward Russian areas and was actually extended through governmental action. German Catholic writers saw the commune as peculiarly Russian. Russian Slavophiles used the Germans' example as the basis of their claim that Russians' social psychology left them immune to individualism, which was perceived as Western, and destined them for some distinctive future.

This idea is linked with what is thought to be Russians' peculiarly casual attitude toward law. According to romantic lore, Russians are all crypto-Quakers who shun formal rules and procedures and who prefer to work by consensus.

Every one of these generalizations somehow coexists with its opposite. Thus, we hear much about the democratic spirit of Russians as exemplified by their village community, and yet we are also told that elders within those communities exercise dictatorial powers. Lest notions of authority go too far, however, there is readily at hand the view that the Russian social psychology stresses *стихийность* (unruly spontaneity). There is something condescending in this view of spontaneity, for it virtually turns Russians into noble Rousseauian savages who are somehow unfit for modern life because of their simple virtues.

My intention is not to dismiss these generalizations. The juxtaposition of authoritarianism and spontaneity, for example, has often been linked with the figures of Lenin versus Bakunin, the founder of European anarchism. The fact that the most radical representatives of both views are Russian cannot be casually dismissed.

Yet one should not read too much meaning into this fact, either. Much tortured writing on the social psychology of Russians has been devoted to explaining things that may not really exist. I know of at least five major Russian writers who have written, oftentimes full essays, on Russians' supposedly distinctive addiction to white lies. Both Dostoevskij and Andreev considered the problem of враньё (lying), as if this particular people had never quite accepted a strict binary distinction between truth and falsehood.

I have noted that many of these alleged features of the Russian social psychology supposedly come in pairs: regimentation versus spontaneity, patriotism versus cosmopolitanism, collectivism versus individual caprice. Sometimes the two opposites are deftly combined in a single person. Typical would be the poet Pushkin whose nasty fulminations against "the slanderers of Russia" somehow coexisted nicely with his purported cosmopolitanism. All this should make one suspicious as to whether the true nature of Russian social psychology has ever been pinned down at all.

Yet let us accept for now all these various statements with their many contradictions. What they have in common is a set of features blatantly at odds with the personality type necessary to sustain a complex, modern civil society founded on a recognition of individual rights (as opposed to duties), participatory democracy and a market economy. Stated differently, for all their contradictions, the prevailing generalizations about the Russian mind are all starkly at odds with what all sides acknowledge to be the requirements of perestroika in the USSR today.

This brings us to the question I raised at the outset: Have these traditional features of Russian character evolved in recent years? If

so, have they changed in ways that make Russia more likely to be able to enter the modern world, or less likely?

I would assert that such a change has in fact occurred; and that its roots can be traced not to Gorbachev's initiatives or even to the "Thaw" period under Khrushchev, but to the late 19th and early 20th centuries. I urge you to reread Turgenev's novels and the plays of Chekhov. There you will find alive and well a new social psychology based upon recognition of the individual, resistance to authoritarianism, and respect for civil society. True, people representing this new order are often in conflict with that other Russia we have been discussing, but they are nonetheless present.

Many at the time viewed this change with extreme discomfort. Dostoevskij certainly did, as did Tolstoj (his figure of Levin in *Anna Karenina*, for example) and Gorkij. Not surprisingly, Western fanciers of the mysterious Russian soul take such writers as these to be genuinely Russian and tend to reject Turgenev and Chekhov as suspicious transplants from Paris, London or Dresden.

No one viewed the new and modern personality types with deeper suspicion than Lenin. Strange to say, Lenin himself came from a family which rejected Russian traditionalism and strove fervently to be modern. Suffice it to note that Lenin's own training was in law, and that he graduated first in his law school class. Yet Lenin could summon boundless invective against his own kind of people. Nor does he limit his criticism to economic individualism. Rather, he again and again attacks the psychology of what he called the "bourgeoisie," using Marxism to bludgeon this new class in favor of some largely hypothetical "proletarian society." Gorbachev had publicly to admit in 1986 that Lenin left only the most general statements about the new society to the creation of which he dedicated his life. The reason for this is that Lenin understood far better what he hated than what he purported to love.

In spite of Lenin's vagueness, a picture of the new world was eventually created and can be found especially in the voluminous popular novels issued in the 1930s and '40s. I once found a batch of these novels in a midwestern bookstore and, after buying them all for twenty dollars, became addicted to reading them. In accordance with the principles of socialist realism, they present "positive heroes" who are in fact models for a new social psychology. What is striking about these positive heroes, however, is not their modernity but the degree to which they reaffirm many of the old literary and philosophical

generalizations about that simpler and purer Russian world which was supposedly disrupted by the early phases of industrialization in the 19th and early 20th centuries. They present idealized portraits of builders of the new world who combine heavy doses of positivism with even stronger features resurrected from the most idealized literary portraits of traditional Russian communitarianism.

Today even the most die-hard believers in the "progressive" mission of the Bolshevik Revolution admit that for thirty-five years Russia was awash with blood. Yet to the extent that this savagery had any purpose at all, it was to remove impediments to the spread of a non-Western, non-bourgeois, non-capitalist, non-individualist personality—in other words, to impose by force the personality type conjured up by a century of Russian and Western writing about the Russian mind. Something similar occurred in Hitler's Germany. In *A Sorrow Beyond Dreams* the Austrian writer Peter Handke wrote a brilliant sketch of his mother who joined the Nazi party so that she would feel at home everywhere. In this formulation she subscribed to the same kind of romantic alternative to alienation which was being propagated by force in Russia during the same years.

I am suggesting that the great experiment of the Communist era was based not on some rational analysis of what had been and what should be, but rather on the acceptance by Communists of a largely romantic view of a Russian traditional psychology—a psychology which the new government thought it could revive and modernize.

But did it happen? Was this "new Soviet man" actually created? In answering this, it is useful for everyone with Russian friends to review them one by one. Many will call to mind older Russians who truly believed in the Party's ideal and tried to reorganize their own psychological world in accordance with its precepts. Yet I would submit that such people were few. Far more numerous were those who simply swam with the tide. And behind them, largely out of sight but nonetheless present in large numbers, were those who paid lip service to what was being forced upon them but who otherwise used every conceivable device to maintain quite different values in their private worlds. Sometimes they were extraordinarily resourceful in their efforts to maintain in a private realm the human values, spiritual affirmations, and psychological truths to which their personal experience had led them. Like termites, they worked invisibly, quietly gnawing away at the psychological palace erected by Lenin and

Stalin. Ilya Ehrenburg's term *оттепель* (Thaw) is therefore quite inaccurate, for large parts of Russian society had never really frozen, notwithstanding the Party's claims to the contrary.

During the two generations between the death of Stalin and the present, the termites continued to eat and at times showed themselves in the light of day. Western observers treated their appearance with surprise and amazement. Here were Soviet citizens representing a psychological type sharply at odds with the image of the positive hero drawn in official novels. Some were scruffy artists, others modestly pious Christians, still others flamboyant jazz musicians, and others yet Jews who wanted out. Here were strongly etched individuals who stood out from the gray crowds like bright bandanas at an old-time Methodist convention. These people were for the most part urban, had benefited from some education, and had access to information on matters of interest to them from unofficial sources throughout the USSR and abroad.

This much we observed in the 1970s and '80s, but we failed to draw the right conclusions. What we failed adequately to perceive was the way in which such new personalities spread into the official world itself. Recall the photographs and portraits of officials which appeared in virtually every issue of *Pravda:* gray men and women with fleshy faces and inert eyes. Now in the last three years we have been bombarded with a completely different kind of picture showing lively-eyed men and women looking boldly at the camera as autonomous citizens rather than subjects in a bland collectivity. What we failed to realize is that many of these people had in fact emancipated themselves in their private life many years ago, even while maintaining the conformist facade. Having failed to look behind that facade, many Western observers were surprised at the rapidity with which a large and seemingly new group of independent-minded leaders emerged within and outside the government in the late 1980s.

For example, despite empty Soviet clothing stores, the streets are full of lively-dressed people who are using homemade and rare imported clothing to make a statement about themselves. Having changed earlier, they have now reached a point at which they feel able to bring into their public life parts of their identity and their psychology which heretofore had been confined to their private worlds. The Orthodox believer, the practicing Jew, the independent artist, the black marketeer—all of these people are proclaiming their

arrival to the civil society and, in the process, are fragmenting what was formerly a single "we." Suddenly the individuals who made up that former "we" are visible everywhere: in the newspapers, on the street, throughout the public realm. Strongly individuated personalities which formerly emerged only in the privacy of dinner table conversations suddenly impinge on public life. Institutions which formerly dealt only with people in their official *personæ* now have to deal with them as they truly are—outspoken citizens rather than passive subjects. It is quite impossible, of course, for most institutions created by Lenin and Stalin to reckon with these new circumstances without fundamental change. Many are resisting, as is evident from the recalcitrance of Communist Party bodies during the past several years to approve new legislation on voluntary associations, political parties, private property, independent business and the press.

The point that bears stressing is that while the legislative initiatives being promoted by Gorbachev and other reformers will hasten change in the national psychology, they are to an even greater degree a response to attitudinal changes that have already taken place. I have argued here that these changes are very old in origin, tracing their roots to the 19th century. I have suggested that individuated and independent personalities continued not only to exist under the darkest years of Stalinism but even to proliferate, thanks to advances in urbanization, education and communications. Long obscured from view by the crust of official orthodoxies, the individuated, autonomous, activist, and democratic personality type has now emerged fully into the open, due to the breakdown of the Communist order. Henceforth the challenge will be to create institutions compatible with Russians as they actually are today, rather than to remake Russians in accordance with some idealized notion of how they were in the past or how they ought to be in some mythic future. Thus, the new social psychology has become the *cause* of fundamental change in the USSR, rather than its effect.

Banquet Address

The Changing Soviet Scene
May 25, 1990

*Greg Guroff**

I want to talk about three topics this evening. First, I'd like to talk about the political developments in the Soviet Union, then some about the underlying economic problems, and finally a little about exchanges. And then we can talk about whatever you want—or you can all go off and have a beer. I appear here this evening in my private capacity as a scholar. My remarks represent my own views and should in no way be construed to represent an official U.S. Government point of view.

What has become increasingly clear is that we judge the Soviet Union by a standard we do not apply to most countries, and we judge it for a variety of reasons. I'm not here to either condemn that nor to justify it. I think it is quite clear. We place on the Soviet Union conditions for behavior. We place on the Soviet Union requirements for our "good relations" which we rarely place on others. This is frustrating both in the policy world as well as for those of us involved in trying to figure out where the Soviet Union is going—and I assume it is equally frustrating for the Soviets.

**Dr. Guroff appeared as a private scholar at the Symposium; he serves as Coordinator, President's US-Soviet Exchange Initiative, United States Information Agency.*

Washington observers were struck by the fact that when President Havel came to the United States and was asked what the United States might do for Eastern Europe, he told us that we should help Gorbachev—and the same was true of the acting president of Hungary. This brought a kind of awareness in Washington which I think had begun to escape us. For us the events in the Soviet Union had begun to pale by contrast to the rapidity of events in Eastern Europe, and Gorbachev and the Soviet experience began to look pretty mild and pretty conservative compared to what was happening in Eastern Europe.

I think Havel put a stop to that kind of thinking for much of the analytic community and brought us back to a sense that, dramatic as the events may be in the overthrow of the government, this is the *first* stage of transformation—not the last stage. And, as we have seen in the last couple of days in Rumania, as we are seeing in Poland with the threat of a railroad strike, as we are seeing in Hungary—despite all of the reforms—serious economic problems exist and the standard of living is not improving rapidly. Despite the euphoria which hit when the Berlin Wall came tumbling down, it distracted us from the very serious and long-term problems that Eastern Europe faces. It also put in more perspective the difficulties which the Soviet leadership has now and will continue to have in trying to transform a society.

For those of you who are regular visitors to the Soviet Union, it seems to me that if you have not noticed dramatic changes on each of your respective visits, you have not been looking. The country is unrecognizable from what it was three years ago. Unrecognizable both for the better and for the worse. Unrecognizable in the fact that people speak openly; that the media—television, films, radio broadcasts—has a distinctly open, critical, if not condemnatory tone toward the regime; that Russians have now gone through a period of public self-flagellation about their past and about their faults. There is nothing we can say that Soviets have not said about themselves. But I see this as a transitional period. This is not yet a battle won; there are numerous danger signals on the horizon, for the institutional protections and popular acceptance are not yet there to protect the freedom of the press.

One is struck, on the negative side, that the standard of living continues to decline. This has been accompanied by a significant rise in violence and crime which is not simply interethnic. The advice we used to give people going for any stay in the Soviet Union we can no longer give. We have to advise young people that there are threats of violence on the street, that they may not be safe in their dormitories, that they have to be careful when they go out. For a Soviet citizen this is perhaps the most marked change. For people who are used to bringing up their children with safe streets and safe public transportation, I would say that in the last year and a half the lifestyle in Moscow has been almost totally reversed. It is not a joke when Andrei Voznesenskij says to you: "I do not have an audience after 9:30 because people rush to get home while there are still lots of people in the streets."

At the same time, the Soviet Union has begun to suffer from the problems of long-repressed, interethnic hostilities; and they will not go away. They will not go away in Eastern Europe, either. The fact that there are no longer Communist regimes in Hungary and Rumania does not make Hungarians and Rumanians any better friends. The fact that Todor Zhivkov is gone does not make relations between Bulgarians and Turks any better.

These are problems which one man in the Soviet Union has had to deal with. I am extremely critical of my colleagues in Sovietology who have failed to figure out what country they are studying. But some continue to predict that Gorbachev will go into demise in six months. Eventually, as everyone was correct about Brezhnev, they will be correct about Gorbachev. At some point he will leave power. He has now been in power for over five years, which is actually quite a long time; and he has transformed the Soviet Union.

What we are witnessing now is the coming of politics to an authoritarian state. The issue which Soviets face is not where to go, because most have an answer for that, but how to get there. This issue is one with which we can give them very little help. Unfortunately, however, we are a little bit too arrogant to understand that we cannot help, since we have prescribed formulas for everybody on how they ought to live. How do you take a society that is well-formed and crystallized under an authoritarian planned system and produce different values? How do you handle the transition? There is no experience. And the experience of Eastern Europe, I would contend, is not relevant to what is going on in the Soviet Union.

The fact that the experiences of Eastern Europe are not relevant to the Soviet Union is true for a variety of reasons. First, on the economic side, Eastern European economies are open economies.

They are small enough that they can be rescued. The East Germans are not a case of interest in looking at the Soviet Union. They will become the Unreconstructed South for West Germany. We may have everybody from East Germany *still* trying to go to West Germany though the West Germans are now trying to restrict this movement. Poland is a basket case and may continue to be a basket case. There is no person of Russian descent who possesses money on the scale of Barbara Johnson. There is nobody to go and buy Uralmash as Mrs. Johnson has sought to purchase the shipyards in Gdansk. Nonetheless, even at that, Western aid to Poland is a significant part of the economy.

For the Soviet Union, which remains an autarchic economy, as it will continue to be in the foreseeable future, Western aid is not very significant. In fact, Soviet economists have long since concluded that the pattern of the 1970s was wrong-headed. What they need to do is transform their society and not steal and import Western technology. They must produce the infrastructure to support technological change and not try simply to bypass the stages.

On the political side, we have an even more complicated situation. The probability exists that tomorrow morning we shall awaken to find that Boris Yeltsin has been elected Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the RFSFR. For me this phenomenon is very scary. I think many people confuse what Yeltsin stands for and who he is and continue to talk as only Western political scientists persist in doing—in terms of left and right. They have never figured out that politics is a three-dimensional subject and that left and right really have little relevance to what is going on in the Soviet Union.

What we are seeing in the Soviet Union under the tutelage of Mikhail Gorbachev, however, is the emergence of a political society in a society which has no traditional politics. It is not even just a question of democracy. They have *no* tradition of participant politics. We are seeing a society which has really no concept of law as a normative subject attempting to create a *Rechtsstaat*—a society ruled by laws. The reactions of Soviet citizens to what is going on is general bewilderment and confusion as to how to move and what to accept and what to do. What we observed from the legions of Soviets coming to the United States is that the questions they are asking about the organization of a democratic society are so elementary and so fundamental to society, that it is clear they are beginning in 1789.

Five years into perestroika and glasnost and a year and a half after the first major elections, they are not quite sure how a society can function. The fears exist that traditional values will continue to hang on and defeat any efforts to move to a democratic society. I do not use the term "democratic" as a synonym for "American," which is what most people in Washington talk about. If one says democratic, it means you have a bicameral legislature—a house, senate, supreme court, bill of rights—if you do not have that it is not "democratic." Soviets do not mean democracy in those terms.

Let me give you a couple of examples. For one, there is the debate over the press law which has now gone on for nearly a year. Americans say to the Soviets: "The press law is easy. We've got it in two lines in the Bill of Rights. You say the press is free. That's it. Anything less is not democratic." Well, that is interesting. The problem remains that the Soviet Union is already a formed society. There is a shortage of paper. The State controls the paper. If you declare the presses free tomorrow, who gets the paper? Who gets ink? Who gets access to the presses? Who has money? How do you collect it?

An interesting debate has now erupted, and I will give you one example. The Russian Writers' Union has its own magazine called *Октябрь (Oktjabr')*. The Russian writers' organization is a very conservative organization. The editor of *Октябрь* is quite a revolutionary figure. The Presidium of the Russian Writers' Union has fired him. He is still in place. Westerners are all cheered by this. Anaev is a liberal figure—he is good for Russia. But you have to ask yourself: if you are going to have a legal society, and the owners of the magazine fire you; then you leave. But if he is forced out, we would see this as a failure of democracy.

We were visited by a group of people including a series of editors—leading journalists from around the Soviet Union. We had a long discussion about this, and they could not quite figure out what was going on. They all supported Anaev: "How dare anybody insult our freedom of the press?" We asked, "But whom do you work for?" Well, one works for the journal *Знание (Znanie)*. Another works for the Moscow City Soviet. There is no concept of responsibility within that system.

On the one hand, if you were a political figure trying to bring some sanity and reason and some sense of responsibility of law to this debate, you would be very frustrated. You would find yourself in the particular situation that now exists arguing *against* the more liberating forces in the society and *for* the more conservative, established institutions. On the other hand, if you were a classic liberal, you would say: "Fine, Mr. Anaev, if you don't like the Russian Writers' Union, gather together a bunch of people and go form your own journal somewhere else." And of course the answer would be, "I can't do it," because the only way you can form a journal right now is to have an organization behind you. But if you do form a new organization, it is not part of the quota for newsprint.

And so, as you look at each of these issues, rather than being able to give the classic American one-line answer to how you democratize a society, you begin to find that prying out of the old society and moving into a new society is not simple. It is only when you begin to look at these problems, I would argue, that you are able to appreciate just how much has changed.

The most significant change politically remains that Gorbachev has systematically moved to destroy the power of the Party and to move the base of power to elected governments. The Congress of People's Deputies is a creation of Gorbachev. Open elections are a creation of Gorbachev. We can argue that there are other people involved. We can discuss the classic "does history make the man, or the man make history" or the "part of a generation" arguments, but Gorbachev is the symbol of that change. You can sense the scope of the changes when you look at how far he has moved that society, yet nevertheless he is now considered a very conservative force by a large part of the Moscow intelligentsia. He is under attack—under attack not only by Yeltsin, but also by Popov and by Sobchak, all of whom now have real power bases from which to operate. Sobchak was yesterday elected Mayor of Leningrad.

I feel great concern as I look at these elections because now all the people I know who are great at giving speeches are actually going to have to *do* something. I am not a believer that intellectuals are necessarily great administrators. Thousands of academic deans have proven this over and over again.

Part of our problem in analyzing the USSR has been that most students of the Soviet Union have never understood the Soviet Union. And so we are surprised to find things in Soviet society we did not know existed. Because *we* did not know they existed, we assumed they did not exist. It reminds me of when I was in Moscow and we used to say, "To the best of our knowledge, Brezhnev is not dead."

When it was translated, it came out as "Brezhnev is not dead because we do not know if he is." It seemed to me there must be some objective standard by which this could be measured, but what happened was that if Americans did not know it existed, it did not exist. We have had this attitude with other countries as well, such as with those to the south of the Soviet Union where conservative opposition to the liberalizing Shah did not exist, according to the US. We *declared* it did not exist, therefore it did not, and we had a policy built on that belief.

Most of you who have spent time in the Soviet Union prior to 1985 and who left the confines of your dormitories recognized that an enormous amount of social and economic entrepreneurial activity was going on in Soviet society. People were becoming wealthy. Many people lived better than many other people. And despite shortages many people lived very well. Developed distribution systems existed. There were sources of income. (I would not say black market but rather gray markets. Many years ago a wonderful article was written by Aaron Katsenelinboigen on the many-colored markets of the Soviet Union.)

Gorbachev understood all this, and what he tried to do very early on was to find a way to bring that activity which was buried in society to the surface and to legalize it. He wanted to grab onto it. And, by and large, he has failed. This is true for a variety of reasons which are not easily evident. He has been largely unsuccessful so far in substantially changing the attitudes of the Russian masses about entrepreneurial activity. The old slogans—"Let us be poor, but *дай Бог* (God forbid) they shouldn't be rich!"—still exist. This lack of success is explicable in part because the first signs of entrepreneurial activity existed in service industries and not in productive co-ops. It was in restaurants where the average Soviet said: "I paid three rubles a kilo for this kind of meat but they're charging twelve and it's speculation." "Speculation" became the byword for negative evaluation of entrepreneurship.

Most activities have been visible in this way. The production co-ops have been less visible, but they have been more successful in people's minds. Because they have been less visible, however, they have been completely destroyed in many cases by the existing bureaucracy. For example, a house builder I know managed to leverage leasing a brick factory, but he could not make a breakthrough to get the wood he needed to build houses even though wood is available. His lack of success was in part due to the bureaucracy which understood that if he obtained the wood, he would be successful in building houses for people. They could not let that happen. And it was not simply the people in the timber industry but also those in the Party and in the City Soviet of Novgorod who did him in. Perhaps he will rise again; perhaps he will become successful.

By and large, however, attitudes have not shifted significantly enough to allow changes in the economic behavior within the Soviet Union. The demagogues are beginning to play on that. What the economists now understand is that democracy may be a wonderful system of political values, but it is not great for development economics. If they had wanted to transform the society radically, they should have moved to do so three years ago.

Now everything passes through the Supreme Soviet. The first economic bill submitted to the Supreme Soviet tried to take into account the enormous budget deficit. Proportionately, their budget deficit is three to four times the size of ours. They made a move to raise taxes on cigarettes, alcohol and some luxury goods. It was defeated resoundingly. There was no debate, no discussion of what it would be, or what the economic benefit was; it was a simple "no more taxes" response. From now on every economic bill that is going to be presented will be subject to political debate in a society with little political responsibility. Prime Minister Ryzhkov has presented his economic program which people may not like. It may not be fast enough. But I am convinced that it is going to receive very little airing in a serious discussion of economics but rather a great deal of jockeying for position and posturing between Yeltsin, Ryzhkov, Gorbachev and others. The net result is the probability, if it goes the way I think it will, that Ryzhkov will be discredited and will resign. Then they will lose another six months or a year in beginning to make the economic changes in their society that they have to make.

Economic changes are important, I believe, not only because they underlie political discontent in the society but also because they have enormously aggravated ethnic relations. The one area which Gorbachev, I think, absolutely does not understand is interethnic relations. When I was in Moscow last July, Gorbachev held a plenum of the Central Committee on nationalities. We know some of what went on, but what we know most about is the fact that on July 7 Gorbachev gave an address to the nation on nationality policy. Usually when he speaks, you hear something of great interest and some indication of where the society is going and some analytic treatment of the problems. When he spoke about nationalities, it could have been a speech written for Leonid Brezhnev. There was nothing there. He said: "We have to pull together—without each other we are weaker." And he was talking to people who no longer cared.

He went out to Lithuania to argue for staying within the Union, and he simply did not understand the terms of the debate. It was with an audience which was totally disillusioned with the present situation and which would not wait—in Gorbachev's terms—until he could figure out what to do; and he had no proposal. His proposal was simply: "Stay with us for another three years, and you will see."

Maybe there is nothing he could have done in the Baltics to preserve the Union. But what he did propose was simply not in the same ballpark as was the debate. There had been a great deal of discussion of a confederation—of the creation of a real confederacy of states. Maybe it would not work, but it suggested a very different set of relationships between the constituent republics and the center. A very great transformation of the center had been talked about, but it died. And what we now see is not any broad and understanding approach to the nationalities issues, but rather a totally tactical battle being fought out in terms of what Gorbachev's positions can be. While Boris Yeltsin may speak about the rights of the Lithuanians to secede, all of the evidence suggests that the Russian population is opposed to the secession of Lithuania and is very unsympathetic to their complaints. This has very much constrained Gorbachev's ability to move. The situation in the Baltics has been very calm and orderly compared to the prospects for violence which exist in the republics in the Caucasus and in Central Asia.

This entire problem has created a sort of schizophrenic reaction throughout institutions in the Soviet Union. Two or three years ago we thought of the Soviet Union as an enormously repressive autocratic force which, ironically, cannot now mobilize itself to control civil disobedience. It cannot figure out how to deal with crowds. It cannot figure out how to deal with pogroms—I can only categorize Baku and Sumgait as pogroms. One may *understand* where the violence comes from, but the idea that the Soviet Union cannot mobilize enough legitimate force to keep people from killing each other in public is a shocking discovery for Russians who have thought of themselves as a docile and controlled population.

In an aside to this topic, I think the full extent of what has been going on in Azerbaijan and Armenia is not very clear to the outside world in part because we understand the Armenian side of the story and not the Azerbaijani side. This does not excuse it or make it any better. One has to understand, for example, that when the riots broke out in Baku, there were over two hundred thousand Azerbaijani refugees in Baku who had been forced out of Armenia. Now this fact does not justify murdering Armenians, but it does give one a slightly different understanding of what the causes of this entire situation are and where the solutions lie.

The economic conditions not only aggravate the ethnic issues and the political issues, but now they have also begun to affect strategic issues. The Soviet Union is not joking when it says it cannot withdraw its troops as rapidly as it would like from Eastern Europe because it cannot house them. Demobilized Soviet officers have a right to housing provided by the state, and in the past nobody jumped up and down when a hundred demobilized officers were put in a town and given apartments. Major cities across the Soviet Union have refused to do that now. The net result is the announcement by the Soviet government that they will have to leave more than one hundred thousand troops, which is more than they *want* to leave, because they cannot house them in the Soviet Union. This is beginning to have an impact. I think, moreover, the fact that American policies toward the Soviet Union have been ambivalent—not in the sense that we do not support Gorbachev but in the sense of deciding how to reward the Soviets for change—has made us in some ways less of a player than we might have been. At the same time, I remain convinced that while we can affect some areas of Soviet life, it is really up to the Soviets themselves to make the changes.

We are eventually going to sign a new trade agreement with the Soviet Union. We have been working on it for a long time. In the 1970s we told the Soviets we would not grant them most-favored-nation status, which is tied up in the trade treaty, until they allowed people to emigrate. What we had in mind was not people in general but Jews in particular and for a while also Armenians and certain dissidents. We did not mean for them to open all borders to Russians and Ukrainians. It was simply a quota proposal. But then, the Soviets played a very dirty trick on us. They said okay.

Consequently, as you all know, we now have very new immigration rules for Soviets leaving the Soviet Union with the intention of coming to the United States. These are immigration rules which we impose. I find it offensive. I do not know that my view is very popular within the American government. It is one thing to tell populations that we have immigration rules and not everyone can come in. I understand that; and while I might not like it, I accept it. But there is no other population in the world to which we have said for forty years: "If you can get out, we'll take you." Nowhere else have we created the demand to come to the United States. We said this not just forty years ago but up until last year. And then suddenly when we saw people coming, we said: "Wait a second—we have a new interpretation. (That's the magic word!) We didn't mean immigration. We meant emigration."

In any case, over the last few years we have watched one of the most dramatic revolutions of modern history. We have watched the transformation of a society of 280 million people. We have watched the shifting of power in that society. We have watched things come about that I think none of us would have believed would ever happen in our lifetime. We have watched the Soviet Union—the autocratic, repressive, imperialist, expanding Soviet Union—allow its empire to fall without firing a shot. We have witnessed an American Secretary of State who virtually invited the Soviet Union to intervene in Eastern Europe to save lives in Rumania. We have watched a Soviet Foreign Minister tell us that the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union was not only wrong, but morally wrong. We have watched a people reject its history. We have watched the Soviet Union confess to crimes against humanity. We have watched the Soviet Union after fifty years take responsibility for the massacres in the Katyn Forest. We have watched the virtual de-Stalinization of a society.

How many of us would have thought three or four years ago that the Berlin Wall would come down? And with joy on both sides? With 350,000 Soviet troops standing by and doing nothing?

Therefore I would suggest to you that we have not only witnessed a revolution, but that we are also about to witness more of it. And I think that if the history of revolutions teaches us anything, it teaches us that revolutions rarely turn out the way the people who started them thought they would. Anyone who tells you that they know where the Soviet Union is going to be a year or two from now ought to have a bit more modesty. I object very strongly to what I consider as irresponsible pontification and arrogance toward the

Soviet Union. I object to people who, among other things, cannot speak the language but think they can fool people about it. I object to people who pass through Moscow and talk to George Arbatov and think they understand the society.

Fundamentally, I think that American scholarship on the Soviet Union has been lazy. I do not think there is any way around that statement. Neither do I make many friends in the profession by saying that; but in my own capacity, I have to read and seriously consider everything people write. And some of it not only annoys me but it saddens me. It saddens me that there is so much intellectual irresponsibility. This irresponsibility has in part been created by the media in how people are paid to go on television. I understand that if you say what everybody else is saying, no one is going to invite you on television. So the media looks around for people who disagree with each other; and if the people do not disagree with each other, they *make* themselves disagree with each other. I find this situation to be tragic in the respect that little enough wisdom informs politics and the decision-making process and the community. Rather than providing wisdom, in many ways we have created a caricature of scholarship of contemporary issues. Why, as I turn to exchanges, I am so intent on transforming high school teaching of Russian and the exchanges in general is that I believe in Santayana and I do not want the next generation to repeat the mistakes we have made. That in and of itself is half-educating people to deal with society.

One does not develop proficiency in Russian at the university. In my judgment, we have perverted the teaching of language. Nobody cares about the teaching of language in colleges. They care about the teaching of literature and the publishing of articles. There is nothing wrong with that. And there is nothing wrong with scholarship. Scholarship is very important. But, as you all know, if one wants to become a specialist on language and on the teaching of language, then there is no place for you in a major university. The standards are not geared towards that, which is nice for preserving the profession, but it is death to the field. And I have been in this business a long time. I learned Russian not at home and not from native Russian speakers. It took me many, many years of hard fighting and having a fluent Russian grandmother who told me, "What the hell are you doing? You're my grandson. Why don't you speak the language?" I have suffered through the *оскорбление* (insult) of relatives telling me that I didn't understand the language and that I didn't do very well.

I object to the way in which we have gone about creating the entire field of study of the Soviet Union. What I find most lacking in the field is people who have a feel for the way the society functions. I do not mean a lot of book learning, nor a lot of diagrammed analysis of institutions, but actually a feel for the way people think about the world and the way people live in society. I do mean people who are interested in: What concerns people? What is the nature of the traditions in the society? What is Gorbachev up against? What kind of society is he trying to transform? On the other hand, some people have a sense that there is only Gorbachev along with all these political models. And who says these people have a *clue* as to what makes that society tick?

Now, I think we should transform the way we teach about society. We should introduce children at a very early age to the idea that there are real people out there, not statistics or ciphers. They should know that not all people want to own Chevrolets. They should know this so that when they begin to look at the society and to write about it, they can do so from a very different perspective.

Zita Dabars and other teachers involved in the US-USSR High School Academic Program have to raise a great deal of money each year. I wish this was not the case, and I have a scheme. It may not work, but I do have a scheme. What has happened, very briefly, in exchanges? This year we shall distribute about 100,000 visas to Soviet citizens. This figure compares to 11,000 visas distributed in 1987. The largest, most significant change in the profile of Soviet citizens traveling to the United States is in age and in type of program. Let me give you a few examples. In 1986 we had ten or eleven undergraduates here for a period of a semester of study. Our guess is that we shall have 200 here this year.

Next week we shall propose and hopefully sign an agreement to increase by a factor of 1,000 in the next four years the number of undergraduates traveling between the United States and the Soviet Union. We actually may have some money to help this exchange, and colleges will have to raise some of the money themselves. This exchange does not involve study tours, but a semester or more of study of a subject matter, and not of language itself. The study program can be language combined with another subject, but it has to be something more than simply the study of a language.

We may open this plan up to competition and democratize it. Statistics, we are told, confirm that 4,000 undergraduates in this country study Russian beyond the second year. This is a relatively limited pool from which to produce 1,000 kids. If the high school program does not succeed, then the university program will not last very long. Two years ago we had no high school students here on anything that approached an academic program. We had Peace Child and we had this and we had that and some kids floated through, but this year we should have over 1,000 children going in each direction on academic-related programs—700 of whom are in high school partner programs and a variety of others with individual high schools. The New York Consortium of Schools has also become involved. All this is not a lot, but it is a dramatic change from zero.

The profile in terms of the kinds of people who are coming has to do with their reasons for coming and the geography of their distribution in the Soviet Union. In 1986 we had one functioning Sister Cities relationship —Seattle and Tashkent. This year we have 56, and probably by the end of the year we shall have about 100 Sister Cities partnerships. These are active relationships in which delegations actually travel back and forth; they do not simply constitute the town mayors. Rather, it means university relationships, high school relationships, professional relationships and artistic relationships have developed, all under the auspices of Sister Cities. What this has done is break down the traditional pattern in which 90 percent of the people came from Moscow and Leningrad with perhaps a few from a couple of the republic capitals. In addition to these relationships, it is my guess, and these figures are just approximated, that about 30,000 of those 100,000 visas will be for private visitors.

In 1985 before I left the Embassy in Moscow, when we saw a private visitor we were all out on the street. We all went out to make sure the militia did not bash whomever it was coming in, that someone from the Consulate was there to say hello, that the person received a visa; it was all very pleasant. It was usually a babushka who lived in the western Ukraine and whose sister or brother or nephews or nieces went the other way at the end of the war, and they finally reestablished contact. And now it includes everybody. We took a conference to Tbilisi in 1988, and 120 Americans stayed in Georgian homes for six days. My guess is that three quarters of the Georgian hosts have been to the United States as guests of the people who stayed in their homes. This kind of thing is happening.

People have also discovered that they can do things on private visitors' visas that they cannot do on other kinds of visas, so people are coming in this way. Linus Kojelis, who is the former White House Assistant for Minority Affairs, particularly for Baltic Affairs, he being Lithuanian, wrote an article which appeared in the *Post*. It was a sort of Op Ed piece about being Lithuanian these days in the United States and about how he would get a phone call from New York saying: "I'm here! Your mother was related to my grandmother on my father's side twice removed through cousins who are married, and I'm coming to Washington." And he goes on and on.

It is my experience that I used to say to everybody "my home is your home while you're in the States" when nobody was coming. Now they are all here. They come with not a penny. They view the United States as the wealthiest place in the world and believe that every American is prepared not only to put them up and to feed them and to send them on by personalized transportation wherever else they are going, but also to make sure that they know where to get their VCR's and how they charge them to you!

I shall continue with one other observation about the nature of exchanges and then make two comments on obstacles to exchanges. We noticed last August we were receiving a series of visa applications, and we were not quite sure what was the nature of the programs. The visa applications turned out to be for scholars and professors to come at the invitation of individual institutions. Part of the problem involved in reading these applications is that the Consulate officials, who are besieged by people wanting to come to the United States, do not know what ACTR is. There are some who do, but most do not. The same could be said for IREX or Fulbright or anything else. They sit and fill out these forms, and when they get a form stating, "I'm going to San Jose State," then San Jose State becomes the sponsor of the exchange. Consequently, we were not quite clear about what was going on as we saw a number of people applying to come for a year, in some cases two years, in some cases four years, for graduate training or for teaching or for research.

In 1987 we began to make a list of the senior scholars coming for longer than three months or a semester, and we found that 90% of them were covered by IREX and Fulbright. ACTR then joined the game somewhat with the Curriculum Consultants program. I am not sure they have anything to do with the curriculum or consulting, but they are also senior people in our minds. In any case, we kept this little list. And it continued growing and growing and growing. We knew how many IREX scholars and Fulbright scholars were here, and they totaled to about 50 people. When the list crashed through the 700 barrier, we began to realize that something else was going on. My guess is that there are, outside of Fulbright and IREX programs, about 750 Soviet scholars here for at least a semester this year. What that number will be next year, I do not know. We have a list of 60 people who have applied so far, and it is still May, for programs beginning this summer. We shall see what happens. As you can see, therefore, there has been an enormous diversification in all of these areas.

The obstacles to the exchanges, on which I will conclude, exist on the American side. The major obstacle can be summed up with just one word: funding. It is literally the case that we spend a third of our time fundraising, a third working with the State Department to facilitate visa issuance, and a third working on interesting things. But funding is absolutely the critical issue on the American side. People in the academic world do not know how to fundraise; they are not interested in doing it, and they are angry with Dan Davidson and myself that they have to do it. Nevertheless, it is the name of the ball game. If you want to do anything, you must fundraise. In some areas it is easier, because of a little form which reads: "If you want to go on IREX, here's what you fill out"; they say "yes" or they say "no"; and you do not have to worry about it. On the other hand, there are some things that do not work that way.

I would contend almost any project that does not fit the absolute traditional lines of academic grants is a whole new world for most people. If you want these things to happen, you have got to get out and do it. Communities have learned how to do it, and institutions have learned how to do it, but the pool of money simply has not kept up with the opportunities available for contact, exchanges, scholarship and research. The agenda of foundations is five years out of date. If you are doing studies of nuclear weapons or the reduction of nuclear risk, you can still obtain an enormous amount of funding. This is true despite the fact that I do not perceive these issues to be part of major foreign policy between the Soviet Union and the United States now or in the near future.

For most exchanges and most work it is very tough going. This is explicable in part because business opportunities with the Soviet Union have not expanded. At least they have not expanded to anywhere near the level of people's expectations. The whole sector of corporate foundations can be sold only on the kinds of projects which occur here or can be televised here. We can raise a million dollars to send the New York Philharmonic to the Soviet Union, which is approximately what it costs. The television series which we did with Hedrick Smith cost nearly three million dollars. We can and did raise that much—you see all the sponsors listed at the beginning of the program. The series we put together on Stalin cost considerably less since it mostly consisted of archival footage. We were able to raise the money, both here and in Britain, because there was advertising. If you think the Mobil Foundation might give money for private, charitable projects without any feedback for the Mobil Corporation, you are wrong. For this reason, we have to be clever, and we have to figure out ways in which funders will receive some recognition from the kinds of programs in which we are involved.

The other obstacle on the American side has to do with visas. It is a very simple issue. The Consular authorities and the American government are simply overwhelmed with what they have to deal. They are perfectly competent people, but they are presented with an overwhelming situation. We have a limit to the size of our Embassy in Moscow, and we can only devote a certain number of people to Consular affairs. We have ten times the number of people trying to come to the United States on non-immigrant visas, and we do not have much more staff than we had in the 70s. In addition to that, although we have moved the processing of emigration out of Moscow, anyone who is emigrating to the United States has to be interviewed by the same Consular people in Moscow. There are, at latest count, probably 600,000 people standing in line.

That number is an estimate because the people who are processing the forms which Soviet citizens now send to Washington cannot keep up with the demand. There are not even enough people to open all the mail. And all those applicants have to be processed. The truth of the matter is most of them never *will* be considered for emigration to the United States. If you do not have relatives in the United States, and you are not considered a refusenik, you may wait 50 years before you are even interviewed.

I do not know the explanation. Perhaps the people who put the policy together simply did not understand the possibility existed for such a great demand. Nevertheless, this is the situation. We are talking about quotas of 50,000 a year. My understanding of the situation is that there are indeed 600,000 people in line, and they are all in various categories. If your uncle applies tomorrow to come to the United States, and he is considered an immediate relative; he will jump the line. So if you are number 200,000, you may still be 200,000 next year and the year after that and so on. The people who emigrate this year will be eligible in a couple of years to have *their* relatives come.

It is an extraordinary situation. The point is that the burden falls in Moscow on exactly the same people who are trying to deal with the rise in visas. We are now treating the Soviet Union as a normal country. This means we are turning Soviet citizens down who request to come to the United States for a visit—not on security grounds, which we also do—but on the grounds that they are not leaving a sufficient number of people behind in the Soviet Union to suggest to a Consul Officer that they will go back home. We have, if you are a historian, the irony of the Soviet Union telling its citizens for forty years that they could not travel abroad unless they left hostages. Yet now the Soviet Union says citizens can travel abroad, and the American Consul Officers have become the bad guys. Not that they are. They are just following normal Consular regulations which state that if one cannot demonstrate that one has enough ties in one's own country in terms of business or property (though that is not the case in the Soviet Union) or close enough family ties, then Consular Officers cannot issue them visas to the United States.

On the Soviet side, the obstacles are both obvious and less obvious. The obvious obstacle is Aeroflot. There is nothing good I can say about Aeroflot. They have now imposed new rules which we believe will kill exchanges; actually, then the Consular Officers will not have to worry about it! Their newly imposed regulation is that tickets for all foreigners travelling in the Soviet Union will have to be paid for in hard currency. This regulation went into effect on February 15, 1990. It has been waived, however, for six months for certain organizations like the State Committee on Education, but *only* until the end of calendar year 1990. What will happen on January 1, 1991, I do not know. As most of you know, most of our exchanges are constructed on a non-currency basis because they do not *have* any hard currency. If the State Committee on Education is faced next year with having to transport a thousand high school students from Moscow to their sister schools in Alma Ata and Yaroslavl and Kiev and with having to pay hard currency for them, then that program will fold up and go away. If they have to do the same with any of the other exchanges—or with all the exchange programs which are outside of Moscow and Leningrad—they will die.

It is not an issue only we are fighting. It is true with all exchanges with all parts of the world. It is also true that most of the organizations involved with exchanges are fighting Aeroflot. In addition, hotels are beginning to charge Soviet organizations hard currency for keeping their guests. And on and on and on. The Aeroflot issue has even been raised at the level of Baker and Sheverdnadze.

An official rule exists which, as far as I can tell, is not written anywhere and according to which *any* Soviet citizen travelling on a joint Pan Am-Aeroflot flight has to pay 30 percent of his ticket in hard currency. The irony and the tragedy of the situation is that most Aeroflot flights travel with large numbers of empty seats, despite the fact that they are all officially listed as sold out. It is difficult to obtain any tickets whatsoever. Aeroflot actually does not really care if anybody pays in rubles or not. They are just not interested. If they can get foreigners, they are delighted. They are now conducting a big advertising campaign. I assume you are all receiving the "Dial 1-800-AEROFLOT" flyers. They are also offering promotions for flying first class.

Another aspect of the problem lies in the decentralization of authority in the Soviet Union. We are now dealing with an absolutely blinding dispersal of organizational interests. We do not have a clue to whom we are talking. This afternoon I received five letters from five respectable American organizations saying: "Who *are* these people? They are all different. 'The Cooperative' (or the 'Rossija,' or the 'Semi-Rossija,' or the 'Double Rossija Cooperative') has agreed to supply hotel rooms and the teaching of English for $1,000 plus whatever." We have no idea who these people are. We have no idea whether or not they can fulfill the agreements. This occurs in every field. There are large numbers of television and film projects going on in the Soviet Union. Half a dozen organizations have been created between February and now, all of which promise to do wonderful things. One problem is that most Americans who put their money down find out that there is nothing there. They arrive to discover that they do not have hotel rooms or that they are double-billed for hotel rooms. The camera crews which they expected to be there are not there; or if they brought their own equipment, their Soviet host has somehow forgotten to obtain the right permits to bring in the equipment. Among many American exchange organizations, there is now a nostalgia for the past. They may have screwed you, but you *knew* who was doing it.

This has become a very serious situation. Perhaps the most depressing development has been the fact that Soviet organizations have access to fax machines. I go with horror to my office in the morning. I receive, from very good friends, proposals. They all begin, "We only need $150 or $250 thousand dollars...." It does not matter where they come from—they are all wonderful projects: joint film projects to save the world, joint ecology projects to save the world, children's art in all forms. And they all want us to ask Armand Hammer to give them $250,000. I have been successful *once* in five years in convincing Armand Hammer to put money into something that was not named the Armand Hammer Memorial something.

People come to my office to ask me why these people want all this money for a joint venture. "Joint venture" is *the* word. There is no other word in Russian these days. I hear, "I want to found a joint venture which will save the world from World War III." I have to tell them that Pepsi Cola does not make decisions on that basis. There is an assumption that they have been the guilty party all along. They assume we are very wealthy and we are just waiting for the Soviet Union to open up and for them to propose another conference on global warming, or yet another conference on regional issues, or on the teaching of transformational grammar, or other worthwhile things.

They simply do not understand that Zita Dabars and other teachers have to go out and raise a great deal of money—and that is tough stuff. They have become very disappointed. How can a wealthy country like this *not* be able to support all of these wonderful things? The final word is that they then send groups like the Donetsk Ballet, who were in Baltimore, and on which I spent three weeks of my time raising money so that they would not be humiliated by having to go home. The thanks I got was that when the Bim Bom Circus went belly-up in Marietta, Georgia, they called me. They said, "Save us!" Their animals were being held hostage by the trucking company on three tractor-trailers headed for New Jersey. I was told I must save them. I had visions of myself hopping in a car, cornering them in a rest stop on the New Jersey Turnpike, and facing them down. I think they are still there on the New Jersey Turnpike. That's the reason I'm going back to DC straight on I-95.

Thank you very much.

The "New Russian Literature" and Soviet Literature in the 1990s

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> *Подполье в недавние наши годы стало для нас чуть ли не символом света. Выход из подполья—процесс, который мы переживаем уже четыре года,—не только радость, но и болезнь. Свобода, достигнутая в подполье, распадается на свету. Наступает время освобождения не из подполья, а от подполья—обретение культуры.*
>
> —Андрей Битов[1]

It is widely believed that poetry in the USSR today has yielded its place to newspapers and periodicals which have successfully robbed literature of its readers. There is mounting evidence that only the daily and weekly press, with their ability to report and interpret the events of each day, can satisfy the demands made by readers on the written word. While the former ideology-driven state required literature as an adornment and as a facade, the "de-ideologized" state has no such need which is likely to result in a radical reduction in state support of literature in general. Similarly, pre-glasnost, non-official literature in the Soviet Union was always more than a literary event; it was often the only mode of political discourse available to the literate public, and it included the most popular poets and singers one could mention.

> Предыдущая культурная ситуация была построена по принципу жесткой бинарной оппозиции: "официальная—неофициальная", которая, как магнитный диполь, воспроизводилась в каждой точке структуры. Скажем, в Союзе писателей (как и в других творческих союзах), объявлялась оппозиция "правые—левые", затем: "околосоюзная среда—Союз писателей", "неофициальная литература—околосоюзная среда". В среде неофициальной литературы членения шли по принципу: "нельзя печатать—можно печатать". Родилось даже своего рода "оскорбление": "Тебя же можно публиковать!"[2]

Given the changing status of literature, however, it is no longer clear whether there could be, for example, another Vladimir Vysotskij under the new conditions. Barring substantial change in the current tendency, the model of operation of Russian literature will soon resemble that of any number of Western countries where the only constraint on literary production is that of funding and the market place. Under these conditions one can expect the disappearance in large part of the current network of categories of publications, including samizdat, tamizdat, magnitizdat, as well as, for that matter, gosizdat, the official literature of the establishment. What will remain is a two-tiered system of commercially viable versus externally subsidized publications primarily for select audiences. In this connection, one may already note the emergence of private foundations in the USSR and discusssions of a proposed public foundation, similar to the National Endowment for the Arts, which would be capable of supporting future poet geniuses after the model of the MacArthur Foundation's support of Iosif Brodsky in recent years.

To capture the dynamics of contemporary Soviet Russian literature is no easy task.

> Трудно сказать, что изменилось: мы или время—и кто кого меняет. Раньше было важно защититься от внешних влияний, сейчас важнее повлиять на других. Тогда любой экстраверт был хоть немного интровертом, скрывая нечто в себе и для себя. Теперь даже самая яростная проповедь духовности направлена к оппонентам, вовне.[3]

This fundamental change in the context of contemporary literary production requires that the analyst be armed with more than knowledge of writers and texts representative of the literature. Also

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necessary is the critical language adequate to describe it, including a new critical vocabulary. To facilitate the creation of this new language is the stated goal of a new Soviet literary periodical, *Вестник новой литературы* (*Vestnik novoj literatury*) first published in 1990. The periodical is published by the association "Новая литература" ("Novaja literatura") which sees its calling in the need to embrace all writers who express themselves in Russian regardless of their place of residence within or without the Soviet Union. While the publication can thus be seen as resolving the old controversy of "one literature or two," its main thrust is the preservation and development of writing which has had little or no success in reaching a readership through the official publishing houses. This writing originates with a group of writers thought of as part of the unofficial "second culture."

The emergence of new literature was predicted by Abram Tertz (Andrej Sinjavskij) in his brilliant essay "On Socialist Realism":

> Having lost our faith, we have not lost our enthusiasm about the metamorphoses of God that takes place before our very eyes, the miraculous transformations of His entrails and His cerebral convolutions. We don't know where to go; but, realizing that there is nothing to be done about it, we start to think, to set riddles, to make assumptions. May we thus invent something marvelous? Perhaps, but it will no longer be socialist realism.[4]

Sinjavskij's words were as prophetic as they were retrospective of the strong anti-determinist sentiments of the Silver Age, an era which the "new literature" critics are inclined to invoke in the defense of their own experimentation designed to remind the readers that man is not merely a product of the environment and is not a passive object shaped by circumstances, but is an assertive and active agent who can change them and control his environment.

> Дело в том, что искусство вступило в XX в. в счастливой уверенности, что человек не только лепится обстоятельствами, но и может изменять их. Но цикл замкнулся. Пройдя все известные фазы—энциклопедическую, психологическую, сатирическую, социально-политичес-кую, социально-философскую и социально-этическую— метод исчерпал себя. Было

> ясно, что новое искусство декларирует себя, как и раньше в митингово-энциклопедической форме, что оно не сможет жить без коллажа, будет стремиться к универсальности.[5]

The creation of a new critical vocabulary is invariably associated in Russian context with an awareness of the cultural antecedents of the label. The approach itself requires a name. V. Kataev gives it the name "Movism." Others call it counterculture or neo-baroque. Mass consciousness calls it idiotic, sensing a deep gap between the new method and the previous culture, as Bashart'ian suggests, offering the following explanation:

> Мир рациональный разрушился, на первый план вышел мир интуитивный. Это требует совершенно другого писателя: писатель должен необычайно обнажиться, раскрыть такие части своего сокровенного "я", которые раньше просчитывались через умозрительные построения. Традиционный сюжет рухнул. Вместо него возник сюжет эры средств массовой информации—сюжет-коллаж. Личное "я" существует на стыке рафинированной "эпиграфомании" и голосов повседневности.[6]

How is one to define the term "new literature"? While it is still too early to attempt a detailed taxonomy, one can take note of the description of its distinctive features, as provided by the founders of the movement.

> Прежде всего это обращение к новаторским линиям русской литературы, прерванным в 30-40-е годы, а также эмигрантской литературы, вызванное ощущением единства и непрерывности русскоязычной словесности. Не менее важно использование опыта современного западного авангарда (сюрреализм, поэтика "абсурда", новый роман, постмодернистские концепции). А самое главное—становление "новой литературы" неотрывно от создания своего художественного языка, способного выразить перемены в человеке и культуре послевоенного времени.[7]

> Изменилось представление искусства и языка—в ту же сторону, что жизнь: в сторону освобождения от утилитаризма и орудийности, в сторону самоценности. Следствие этого — возвращение форме ее активного творящего характера, и, тем самым, пресловутая "сложность" и "непонятность" новой лирики.[8]

To capture this new language a new term has been coined that can be traced back to a story by Evgenij Popov, whose involvement in the creation of another journal in the 1970s, *Метрополь* (*Metropol'*), proved to be an enterprise whose time had clearly not yet come. "Человек бедный. Функция—бормотать. Выводов, обобщений не надо."[9]

> Установка на "бормотание"—установка на полное раскрепощение литературного слова. Кому нравится, кому—нет, но можно бормотать об одном, и можно параллельно о другом, и можно вести сразу три сюжета, а хочешь—и четыре. И чтобы была некоторая бессвязность, и связность в бессвязности и т.д.[10]

The framers of the journal assert that the tension between the richness and complexity of Russian culture with its stereoscopic language and pathetic social life with its banal dialect have led to anxiety and uncertainty not only about one's present but also about one's future. What happens to a man and mass consciousness in the period of transition from a discredited system of values to one that does not yet exist? It is the governing principle of *Вестник новой литературы* not to judge and not to offer advice, but to try to understand. It is that principle that determines the choice of contributing authors "за пределами официальной словесности"[11] and which so far includes: F. Erskin, D. Prigov, V. Krivulin, B. Kudrjakov, E. Popov, E. Shvarts, P. Kozhevnikov, Vs. Hekrasov, V. Erofeev, I. Burikhin, Ju. Mamleev.

In analyzing contemporary literary landscape, the following salient literary movements (schools) have been suggested:

1. Московский концептуализм (Moscow School of Conceptualism)
2. Бестенденциозная или постмодернистская (Non-Tendentious or Post-Modernist Literature)
3. Неканонически-тенденциозная (Non-Canonic Tendentious Literature)

The first category not only lacks analogues in the West but also stands in opposition to official, emigré and unofficial literature.[12] Apart from any differences separating representatives of this school, their works all have one major common element: the feeling they convey that literature is over, that it is dead. This definition automatically calls for another one, Post-Literature.[13] Some critics believe that all three can be differentiated by the degree of absurdity they convey.

> "Московский концептуализм" противостоит не только официальной и эмигрантской, но и неофициальной литературе. Это направление, в коем "все традиционные связи разомкнуты" (скажем проще—абсурд стопроцентен). Такие авторы олицетворяют собой "конец литературы." "Мы сталкиваемся с текстами, которые написаны в ощущении, что литература кончилась." Это "постлитертурное направление" (в литературе?) ...[14]

Nontendentious literature is distinguished from meta-literature (post-literature) by its protagonist and an overt presence of the position of the author. It is characterized by an eccentric author and eccentric characters.

Non-canonic tendentious literature (tendentious=meaningful) is characterized by the lowest degree of absurdity and embraces such authors as Krivulin, Shvarts, Mironov and Stradanovskij. There is ample evidence to suggest that the source of the absurd for Russian writing was not the invocation of a lost past or external transcendental fear but rather the texture of Russian every day life.

> Жизнь сползала в фарс, это длилось годами, пространство подлинного и серьезного сокращалось, и литература не могла не почувствовать, как обесценивается здравый смысл, как нарастает контраст между помпезностью всеохватного политического театра и запущенностью прозаической действительности, между новыми вельможами и людьми с улицы. Бывают состояния, когда количество несообразного, глупого, лживого, фальшивого растет и растет, дорастая до абсурда, и тогда люди нередко спасаются тем, что смеются. Конечно, выходит смех странный, даже какой-то неловкий, потому что впору плакать и сострадать. Или негодовать, например, и возмущаться. А отдельные люди упрямо смеются и другим предлагают смеяться и насмешничать—во спасенье.[15]

This development was also anticipated by Sinjavskij in the essay on Socialist Realism noted above:

> Right now I put my hope in a phantasmagoric art, with hypotheses instead of a Purpose, an art in which the

> grotesque will replace realistic descriptions of ordinary life. Such an art would correspond best to the spirit of our time. May the fantastic imagery of Hoffmann and Dostoevskij, of Goya, Chagall, and Majakovskij (the most socialist realist of all), and of many other realists and nonrealists teach us how to be truthful with the aid of the absurd and the fantastic.[16]

What distinguishes "new literature" from virtually all that has gone before it is the outright absence of any overt political agenda. By contrast, another prominent literary movement born from perestroika finds its literary agenda to be inseparable from a political one, an agenda which is underscored by its very name: Manifesto of the Committee of Writers in Support of Perestroika [otherwise called "Апрель" ("Aprel'")].

The Committee represents an independent organization within the Moscow group of the Writers' Union of the Russian Federation. They are united by a common concern for the future of perestroika and a conviction that the Union of Soviet Writers, as an organization, is incapable of realizing the goals of perestroika in literature. They support an opinion, heard often at meetings of various groups of Moscow writers, that the Writers' Union is no more and no less than a "ministry of literature," a part of the country-wide command system of the Soviet bureaucracy. They assert that the Writers' Union is no more the property of the Union apparatus than Soviet literature is the exclusive property of the Writers' Union.

The Committee seeks to raise the prestige of the writers' profession, a calling that suffered considerably during the repression of Stalin and the period of stagnation which followed. In fact, the Writers' Union continues in a sense to be a part of that old repressive system, to the extent that it has yet to renounce its own decision to exclude Solzhenitsyn and others from its ranks. The Committee is also concerned about the lack of democratic processes in the makeup of the Writers' Union; its leadership is not elected but appointed from above: "Может ли всерьёз бороться за демократизацию и плюрализм администрация, внутри которой нет ни демократии, ни плюрализма?"[17]

Since the Union's internal decision-making processes are not democratic, it is an unconvincing defender of democractic ideals on the outside as well. The Committee maintains that the Union is notably lacking in mechanisms of self-monitoring; whenever abuses or irregularities within the Union have been noted, they have been noted by persons on the outside, never from within. Finally, the Committee takes issue with the underlying attitude of the Writers' Union which it considers chauvinistic and divisive:

> Безусловный приоритет общечеловеческих ценностей, бескорыстное служение прекрасному—вот краеугольный камень для писателей, поддерживающих перестройку. Комитет считает, что деятельность направленная на возрождение культурно-национального достоинства, не совместима с проповедью национальной исключительности и национальной розни.[18]

This pluralism of opinion, in the Committee's view, should result in a strong pluralism of actions: "Поэтому главный призыв нашего учредительного собрания: давайте действовать. От слов—к делу. Если не мы, то кто? Если не сейчас, то когда?"[19]

But the fervent hopes of the Committee have yet to coalesce into an effective political agenda capable of standing on its own in the volatile environment of current Soviet politics; the results of the elections for the Ninth Congress of Soviet Writers became public in February of 1991. The defeat of "Апрель" was obvious, and among those rejected were some of its best known members: Voznesenskij, Rybakov, Okudzhava, Bitov. Others like Korotich and Evtushenko were not even nominated. Boris Romanov, the newly elected Secretary of the Writers' Union of the Russian Federation, evaluates the situation with self-serving and disarming cynicism: "Ей богу, никто не виноват, что односторонние известные деятели литературы не стали делегатами."[20]

The worsening situation in literary politics is accompanied by an ever declining level in the conditions of daily life.

> Общий фон—кошмар полуголодного быта, очереди, надписи на заборах с проклятием всем властям. Бегство всех кто может бежать. Исход евреев, немцев, армян. Все меньше врачей, у которых можно лечиться, учителей, которые могут учить. Уезжают способные режиссёры, актёры, драматургиж для провинции, где счёт таких людей совершенно особый, исход становится культурной катастрофой.
>
> Потеряно чувство осмысленности существования художника. Сверхидея одна—выжить.[21]

On the background of this overall state of decline, even the period of stagnation (громадная кляска, затянутая вязким туманом[22]) is viewed by many with sentimental affection: "Ленинская премия мемуарам Брежнева была абсолютно заслуженной. Автор застоя стал лауреатом той культуры, которую породил."[23]

However, there is also an opinion among cultural historians that the period of stagnation is itself a myth. "Никакого застоя в русской культуре 70-х годов не существовало."[24] Asserting that "stagnation" is really only a convenient, if profoundly false concept as far as Russian literature is concerned, scholars and critics have reminded readers of the manifest strength and productivity of Russian writing in precisely these years. It was the 1970s, they point out, that gave the world works such as: *Архипелаг ГУЛаг* (*Gulag Archipelago*), A. Solzhenitsyn; *Верный Руслан* (*Faithful Ruslan*), G. Vladimov; *Прогулки с Пушкиным* (*A Stroll with Pushkin*), *В тени Гоголя* (*In the Shade of Gogol*), A. Sinjavskij; *Жизнь и необычайные приключения солдата Ивана Чонкина* (*The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Private Ivan Chonkin*), V. Voinovich; *Конец прекрасной эпохи* (*The End of a Beautiful Epoch*), *Часть речи* (*A Part of Speech*), I. Brodsky; *Зияющие высоты* (*Yawning Heights*), A. Zinov'ev; *Школа для дураков* (*A School for Fools*), S. Sokolov; *Ожог* (*The Burn*), V. Aksjonov; *Компромисс* (*The Compromise*), S. Dovlatov.

Forced out of its homeland, the best Russian literature simply took refuge in samizdat or in the Russian-speaking enclaves of the West: "Культура просто перебралась в самиздат, а оттуда—за границу."[25] The West not only provided refuge for Russian writers who were forced to flee their homeland, it also provided a publication outlet (tamizdat) for writers, both emigré and internal, who were not published in the USSR. Now, however, there are virtually no constraints on self-expression for Russian writers within the Soviet Union; and the rationale for a separate emigré Russian literature in the West is considerably less obvious. Yet, it would seem that there is still an important role for the experienced Western emigré tradition to play: namely, in supporting (and sometimes publishing) the work of the most promising representatives of the newest generation of Russian writers whose work for many reasons has little chance of appearing in print under the present conditions. The exclusion of the youngest generation of writers is obviously a loss for Russian literature, and it is fraught with potential conflict:

> Эта ситуация чревата конфликтом двух поколений и даже конфликтом двух культур. Искусство молодых—с их странными стихами, с их роком, с их новой прозой, как и в старые времена, вытеснено на обочину. Им приходится обходиться либо "тощими" страничками периферийных журналов, либо самиздатом.[26]

While the fact that the work by young writers is not published often is explained in terms of the "seventy-year backlog" of serious submissions which all editors must deal with, for the writers themselves there is a perception that the venues of publication are closed.

In his lecture entitled "Russian Writers, Censors, and Readers," Vladimir Nabokov spoke in part of two forces, two censors who were struggling for the soul of the 19th-century writer. The first was the tsar and his government, and the second was the progressive radical critics:

> If in the opinion of the Tsars authors were to be the servants of the state, in the opinion of the radical critics writers were to be the servants of the masses. The two lines of thought were bound to meet and join forces when at last, in our times, a new kind of regime, the synthesis of a Hegelian triad, combined the idea of the masses with the idea of the state.[27]

Introducing as an example A.S. Pushkin, recipient of attacks and biting criticism from the government and the radical critics alike, Nabokov calls for a rejection of any type of censor and explains the blossoming of literature in the 19th century thus: "... public opinion was stronger than any Tsar and ... the good reader refused to be controlled by the utilitarian ideas of progressive critics."[28] Standing up for the reader's freedom ("Readers are born free and ought to remain free."[29]), Nabokov ended his famous presentation with verses from Pushkin which, in his opinion, refer "not only to poets but also to those who love poets."[30]

> Зависеть от царя, зависеть от народа—
> Не всё ли нам равно? Бог с ними.
> Никому
> Отчёта не давать, себе лишь самому
> Служить и угождать.

These words can be equally applied to the contemporary situation. Despite the repression of ideas and expression and the destruction of ideals brought about by the period of stagnation (and all that went before it), a new literature in Russian nonetheless took root on Russian soil; its practitioners made no claim on the pages of the *толстый журнал* (thick literary journal) and would rather have worked in boiler rooms than to have sullied their art with any form of political message, contrary to the approach of either the "men of the sixties," or the "Апрель" group. They seek instead to protect their own territory and to create their own image.

> ... если жёсткая маркировка мест и бинарность культуры позволяла раньше (по выражению Беме, что ангел среди ада летит в своем облачке рая) влетать на чужие террритории и уходить назапачкавшимся, то теперь при размытых границах происходит простая идентификация с местом представления, как это случилось с акциями в Манеже, с появлением героев андерграунда на телевизионном экране и т.п., то есть нужны незапятнанные места, которым нужно создавать свой имидж.[31]

Recalling, finally, the words of Sinjavskij, let us hope that our need for truth will not interfere with the work of thought and imagination.

APPENDIX ONE

МАНИФЕСТ[32]

Комитета "Писатели в поддержку перестройки"
("Апрель")

1. Принципы

Комитет "Писателей в поддержку перестройки" ("Апрель") представляет собой независимое формирование при Московской писательской организации СП РСФСР.

Побудительным мотивом объединения стала для нас тревога за судьбы перестройки. Мы глубоко убеждены в том, что Союз писателей оказался организацией, непригодной для реального осуществления перестройки в литературном деле. Четыре года, прошедшие с апреля 1985-го, свидетельствуют об этом вполне определенно. Недаром на различных собраниях писателей-москвичей все громче раздаются голоса, что нынешний Союз писателей представляет собой, как и прежде, "министерство литературы", то есть придаток командно-бюрократической системы.

Союз писателей не принадлежит своему аппарату, как и советская литература не принадлежит только Союзу писателей.

Наша цель—поднять авторитет писателя, утерянный в годы сталинщины и застоя, заново утвердить его достоинство.

Авторитет Союза писателей продолжает падать. Не меняется стиль работы. Не отменены позорные решения об исключении из Союза писателей А.И. Солженицына и других литераторов, подвергавшихся в 60-70-е годы травле и преследованиям.

Хозяевами в СП по-прежнему остаются официальные лица, назначенные сверху. Среди них есть писатели авторитетные и не очень, честные и корыстные, но все они прошли процедуру не выборов, а подбора, утверждались на собраниях, где заранее были составлены не только списки будущих избранников, но и списки выступающих. Может ли всерьез бороться за демократизацию и плюрализм администрация, внутри которой нет ни демократии, ни плюрализма?

Механизм контроля внутри СП либо вовсе бездействует, либо его действия носят формальный характер. Недаром разного рода злоупотребления служебным положением, связанные с издательской практикой и направленные на обогащение "чиновных" писателей, были обнаружены не многочисленными ревизионными комиссиями, а журналистами.

Безусловный приоритет общечеловеческих ценностей, бескорыстное служение прекрасному—вот краеугольный камень для писателей, поддерживающих перестройку. Комитет считает, что деятельность направленная на возрождение культурно-национального достоинства, не совместима с проповедью национальной исключительности и национальной розни.

Комитет ППП "Апрель" надеется стать рупором писательского общественного мнения—писательским народным фронтом.

APPENDIX TWO

ОБРАЩЕНИЕ К ДЕЯТЕЛЯМ КУЛЬТУРЫ[33]

Мы, представители писательской Ассоциации "Новая литература," обращаемся к тем деятелям русской культуры, которые, услышав нас, почувствуют себя нашими единомышленниками.

Наступил момент, когда становится необходимым то, что еще вчера казалось невозможным: деятельное и равноправное для всех участие в социальной и культурной жизни. К этому моменту отечественная культура пришла раздробленной, разделенной на три почти не взаимодействующие пространства: культуру официальную, неофициальную и эмигрантскую.

Неофициальная культура объединяла тех людей, чья позиция определялась идейной и творческой независимостью и социальной бескомпромиссностью. Она выражала широкий спектр различных общественно-политических взглядов и эстетических пристрастий—от консервативных, пассеистских до крайне авангардистских. В рамках неофициальной литературы, начиная с 60-х годов, были созданы многие произведения, оказавшиеся под запретом. Они были подвергнуты жестокой идеологической цензуре, да и не только идеологической. Эстетическая цензура оказалась не менее строгой и особенно чуткой к течению, оформившемуся к середине 70-х и условно обозначаемому нами как "новая литература".

Что же такое "новая литература"? Не давая развернутой типоло-гической характеристики этого явления, обозначим основные его черты. Прежде всего это обращение к новаторским линиям русской литературы, прерванным в 30-40-е годы, а также эмигрантской литературы, вызванное ощущением единства и непрерывности русскоязычной словесности. Не менее важно использование опыта современного западного авангарда (сюрреализм, поэтика "абсурда", новый роман, постмодернистские концепции). А самое главное—становление "новой литературы" неотрывно от создания своего художественного языка, способного выразить перемены в человеке и культуре послевоенного времени.

Произведения "новой литературы" широко циркулировали в рукописях, публиковались в многочисленных самиздатских альманахах и журналах, издавались на Западе, и их авторы в глазах деятелей официальной культуры представали как фигуры одиозные, а в глазах властей—как подозрительные, если не криминальные. Писатели подвер-гались репрессиям, эмигрировали, большинство же было вынуждено ограничить свою творческую и общественную активность сферой бытования неофициальной культуры. В таком состоянии, приобретшем даже некоторое внутреннее равновесие, "новая литература" сущест-вовала до самого последнего времени.

Но пришла пора радикально изменить это положение.

Перемены, происходящие в нашей стране, при всей их противоречивости, все же обнадеживают. Мы не можем не поддерживать либерализацию, коснувшуюся некоторых сторон нашей общественной жизни, ослабление цензурных запретов, возвращение широкому читателю книг из "золотого фонда" нашей культуры, но и не можем быть удовлетворены достигнутым.

До сих пор не произошло демократизации многих сфер жизни общества, как не коснулась она и многих пластов реальной культуры. В первую очередь это касается "новой литературы", представителям которой в лучшем случае оставлена единственная и во многом ущербная возможность быть лишь подверстанными к существующим организационно-издательским формам и идейно-эстетическим стереотипам официальной культуры. Это не устраивает многих из нас, так как мы видим истинно продуктивный путь развития культуры не в поглощении одного культурного пространства другим, а в их творческом сосуществовании и взаимодействии. Мы убеждены, что изменения культурной и общественной жизни не должны, а главное—не могут происходить независимо от нас, вне нас, без нашего влияния. Нас, русских писателей, волнуют, конечно, не только проблемы публикации наших произведений, но и все те животрепещущие вопросы, которые встают перед нашей страной в период демократизации и либерализации.

Таковы предпосылки возникновения созданной нами писательской Ассоциации "Новая литература."

Ее цели:

1) сохранение и развитие духовного и эстетического опыта, накопленного новой литературой;

2) оформление нового общественного и литературного объединения, способного включить в реальный литературный процесс независимых русских литераторов, проживающих как в России, так и за рубежом;

3) создание печатного органа и издательства, которые смогут стать легальной общественной трибуной для членов Ассоциации.

Ассоциация "Новая литература" была создана на учредительной конференции, проведенной 8 ноября 1988 года в Ленинграде.

На этой конференции была сформирована инициативная группа по проведению Объединительного съезда русских писателей, проживающих в России и в эмиграции, который предполагается созвать в 1990 году в Москве.

Мы надеемся, что наша инициатива будет поддержана всеми, кому не безразлично будущее нашей страны и судьба отечественной культуры.

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Ljudmila Petrushevskaja: A New Voice of Glasnost

Helen Segall, Dickinson College

During the period of glasnost, between 1985 and 1990, the whole face of Russian literature changed.[1] We witnessed the unification of Russian literature, which for over sixty years had been divided between official and unofficial, dissident and emigre, and published either in gosizdat, or in tamizdat and samizdat. We saw the works of unofficial Soviet writers published side by side with official writers. We experienced the practical disintegration of censorship and government control. Главлит (Glavlit) still exists but almost anything can now be published. It is no longer the official government censor who determines what is published and what is not. It is now the prerogative of the editor and his or her taste, as well as that of the reader, which determine what is to be published and what is not. We also witnessed the appearance of private and cooperative publishing houses such as "Книжная палата" ("Knizhnaja palata") which published A. Kabakov's collection of short stories, "Издательство Вся Москва" ("Izdatel'stvo Vsja Moskva") which published V. Voinovich's *Москва 2042*, and "Интербук" ("Interbuk") publishers which is currently planning to publish T. Tolstaja's collection of short stories. This is significant because writers can now get their works into print sooner. The private publishing houses, therefore, charge more for books, earn more money, and consequently are able to purchase paper, which gives them priority in printing. They do not have to play favorites with authors who are celebrating their sixtieth birthdays, or who have certain medals, and therefore have to be published as a priority; nor do they have to fulfill a plan. Thus, they can be and are responsive to the demands of the public. Even works dealing with homosexuality, and other taboo subjects such as lesbianism, pornography, and curse words, are now published.

A major event which took place during the early part of 1990 was the formation of a new writers' group called "Апрель" ("Aprel'"). In contrast to the Union of Soviet Writers, this group unifies writers on the basis of their interests rather than geographical area. Members of "Апрель" hope to offer an alternative to The Union of Soviet Writers. They also oppose the so-called *деревенщики* (Village Prose Writers), many of whom are members of "Память" ("Pamjat'"). Thus, for the first time in sixty years we are seeing the formation of independent writers' groups.

As part of this creative process, a major event of glasnost has been the appearance of "New Voices" in Russian literature. Among the more notable of these are Ljudmila Petrushevskaja, Tatjana Tolstaja, Sergej Kaledin, Viktor Erofeev, Vjacheslav P'etsukh, Evgenij Popov, Mikhail Kuraev and Aleksandr Kabakov. The older of these writers, now in their late forties and fifties, were unable to publish during the Brezhnev years. They wrote primarily for the drawer. Now that they are finally being published, their works appear side by side with those of younger writers in their twenties and thirties. These "New Voices" are united by their rejection of the doctrine of Socialist Realism, their diversity in choice of subject matter, their originality, and their experimentation with language, style, and form. They are committed to present characters as individuals with emotional and psychological problems, and to depict day-to-day life in all of its facets.

This paper will focus on L. Petrushevskaja's play cycle, *Квартира Коломбины* (*Kolombine's Apartment*). Petrushevskaja is considered by many to be the most outstanding, creative, and interesting "New Voice" in contemporary Russian Literature. She has created and given voice to the new "Homo Sovieticus," the Soviet man or woman. She has captured their voices, intonations, and modes of thinking. Benedikt Sarnov,[2] the noted Soviet critic, believes that Petrushevskaja has created a man who belongs to the third generation of Zoshchenko's characters. Whereas Zoshchenko's characters are uneducated, vulgar, former peasants, workers, and often provincials who come to Moscow and have to be taught such rudimentary manners as not to spit on the floor, or how to behave in a theater, Petrushevskaja's characters represent their more polished descendants, the second and third generation. Her characters are educated and have finished an institute or university. They are usually white-collar workers, librarians, language teachers or bureaucrats who own cars and even travel abroad. Zoshchenko's characters' total possessions often consisted of two sheets and a pitifully worn suit [as in "Телефон" ("Telephone")]. Petrushevskaja's characters have private apartments, and occasionally own dachas. They squabble over children, dachas, and leaking roofs. Petrushevskaja removes their masks and reveals the content of their souls. She exposes their intellectual, moral and ethical bankruptcy.

Petrushevskaja, the mother of three children, is now in her early fifties. In the last five years, concurrently with glasnost, she has gained wide recognition in the Soviet Union and abroad; yet, like the heroines in her plays and stories, she feels mistreated and unappreciated. Interesting, sharp, and intelligent, she is brusque and abrasive and has antagonized various people in the publishing field. She had the misfortune to start writing in the 1960s, at a time when Khrushchev's "Thaw" was over and her works could no longer be published. In 1963 she submitted a monologue titled "Такая девочка" ("Such a Girl") to the journal *Новый мир* (*Novyj mir*). Although it was was not published, A. Tvardovskij, Editor in Chief at the time, wrote on the manuscript "not to be published, but keep track of the author." During the late sixties, seventies and early eighties, Petrushevskaja wrote primarily for the drawer. During this time she supported herself by working in radio and television. From the late 1970s throughout the 1980s, her one-act plays were performed by small amateur and professional groups and her reputation as a playwright kept growing.

Petrushevskaja is the author of almost fifty works for the stage, many of which are monologues or one-act plays which she frequently organizes into cycles such as *Квартира Коломбины* or *Бабуля блюз* (*Grandmother Blues*), as well as two full-length plays *Три девушки в голубом* (*Three Girls in Blue*) and *Уроки музыки* (*Music Lessons*). She is the author of short stories as well as a bard. Those who have heard her in person consider her a wonderful performer. Her short stories include "Наш круг" ("Our Crowd") and "Изолированный бокс" ("An Isolated Cell"). The latter became part of a play cycle entitled *Бабуля блюз* and has been playing in Moscow for the past two years.

Ljudmila Petrushevskaja: A New Voice of Glasnost

Helen Segall, Dickinson College

Petrushevskaja is currently the leading Russian dramatist and a major contemporary figure in Russian literature. In 1989 and 1990 five of her plays were being performed in Moscow theaters alone. They were: *Цинзано* (*Cinzano*), *Три девушки в голубом*, *Квартира Коломбины*, *Уроки музыки* and *Бабуля блюз*. *Цинзано* has been staged in the United States at the Kentucky Theater Festival as well as in England. Since the beginning of glasnost Petrushevskaja's works have regularly appeared in major Soviet journals; and within the last three years, collections of her stories and plays have finally been published in book form. In 1988 the publisher Московский рабочий (Moskovskij Rabochij) published a collection of her short stories under the title *Бессмертная любовь* (*Immortal Love*). A collection of her plays entitled *Песни XX века* (*Songs of the XX-th Century*) was published the same year by Союз театральных деятелей (Sojuz teatral'nykh dejatelej). Since 1987 Petrushevskaja has been allowed to travel and has visited most European countries and the United States.

The setting of Petrushevskaja's works is very specific: it is Moscow and Moscow dachas. The characters are usually Moscovites or Moscow dwellers who have come from the provinces but now live in Moscow. Their language, manner of speaking, intonation and lexicon are those of the Moscow technocrats and the new Russian intelligentsia. They are not intelligentsia in the full sense of the word, but rather the Moscow semi-educated new class. Petrushevskaja's characters are defined by and through their language. She has an unusual ability to capture nuances and shades of speech. The characters' profession, generation and social standing can be identified through their dialogue. We watch their lives as they struggle with *быт*, day-to-day problems. Through her characters Petrushevskaja creates her own world.

Although Petrushevskaja's stories are populated by both sexes; the dominant roles are assigned to women. Men usually play secondary roles and are often shadowy figures. The narrator is usually a woman. Women are the breadwinners, they are the aggressors, and they also provide stability and support mechanisms for each other. Loneliness, the inability to have lasting relationships with men, relationships between mother and daughter and mother and child, generational clashes between mothers and daughters, the need for support and the life of a single mother are all subjects of her stories and plays. Her world is depressing; although it is redeemed by irony and a very subtle sense of humor. She depicts the selfishness and predatory instincts of her characters and the effect of wear and tear of *быт*.

Through Petrushevskaja's works the reader finds the characters to be rounded human beings with illusions, hopes and dreams. Their true natures evolve before our eyes; and we discover, together with the characters, that our judgements are often mistaken and that people are frequently the opposite of what we thought they were. This is well illustrated by the call girl and protagonist of "Такая девочка," or the mother in "Наш круг," as well as by the characters in *Лестничная клетка* (*The Staircase Landing*) which became part of the cycle *Квартира Коломбины*.

Petrushevskaja's language is not merely authentic; it is poetic. Her prose is interspersed with verses, jingles and proverbs. The action of her plays is fast-moving. The endings of her stories and plays are usually unexpected. She is often ironical, has a fine sense of humor and the ability to see the absurdities of life and of day-to-day realities. Her talent lies in her ability to glean pearls of human character from the gray dust of everyday reality. Although her characters are unmistakably Soviet, they transcend the Moscow and Soviet setting and are ultimately universal.

The focus of the following part of this paper lies in Petrushevskaja's play cycle *Квартира Коломбины* which has been playing in Moscow's *Современник* ("Sovremennik" theater) since 1988. This cycle presents the new "Homo-Sovieticus" in various situations and from different points of view. It is one of the most interesting and engaging productions in the Moscow repertoire. The cycle form serves to strengthen the basic theme by presenting it with variations and thus restating it in a more forceful way.

The cycle *Квартира Коломбины* is composed of four one-act plays. The first play *Любовь* (*Love*) was published in 1979 and is followed by *Лестничная клетка* published in 1973, *Анданте* (*Andante*) published in 1988, and *Квартира Коломбины* also published in 1988. As can be seen, the plays in this cycle were written over an almost ten year period. There is a musical quality to these and other works by Petrushevskaja. Even titles such as *Elegy* and *Andante* are derived from the musical world. *Анданте*, the third play in the cycle *Квартира Коломбины*, is a slower movement; and the pace of this particular play is different from that of her other plays. By utilizing the cyclic form, Petrushevskaja achieves a cumulative effect; and as in a musical composition, there is a linking of various themes and the presentation of a theme and variations. In this case, the play cycle presents multiple facets of the same theme: the many faces of love and interpersonal relationships. One could even view *Квартира Коломбины* as a symphony, wherein the main theme is presented in the first play; and then each subsequent play, as in an orchestral movement, repeats and presents variations on this theme, restating it in different forms.

The action of the first play *Любовь*[3] takes place in a one-room apartment stuffed with furniture. In the Sovremennik theater production the center of the room is dominated by a huge bed. The central topic of this play is love. The plot is simple: a newly married couple (Tolja and Sveta) arrives in the room where they will live with Evgenija Ivanovna, Sveta's domineering mother. As the play progresses we become acquainted with this couple as they become acquainted with each other. They have been classmates at the university but had not seen each other for over five years and had not been sweethearts, or lovers, or even close friends while they were students. The groom Tolja is older in his early thirties. Sveta, the bride, is at least seven years younger than he. We discover that before entering the university he had been educated at the Nakhimov Naval Academy. After finishing the university he was assigned to work in Sverdlovsk. Having spent almost seven years looking for a wife, and after all the "candidates for marriage"[4] had refused him, he finally proposed to Sveta.

The action revolves around arguments about the restaurant in which they celebrated their wedding, the food there, his "dowry" (consisting of a suitcase filled with sheets), but most importantly about their relationship, about love and the lack of love between them. Sveta's leitmotif and her recurring line "Ведь ты меня не любишь" and his recurring answer "Я не могу любить ... любить никого не способен"[5] and their variants dominate the play. In the end Sveta wants to annul their marriage and the couple is ready to break up when, suddenly, the huge domineering mother who had left them alone, presumably to visit friends, walks in. She states that she hates visiting and therefore returns, moves in, and declares that the bed is hers; this is her place. They can do next to her whatever they wish, and she will "plug up"[6] her ears. It is at that point that the relationship between the newlyweds changes, and Sveta leaves with her new bridegroom. This is the one chance she has at acquiring freedom; and the audience, together with the characters, discovers that they might have a chance at saving their marriage. These characters represent contemporary

"Homo Sovieticus." Tolja, the bridegroom, has almost nothing to say. To Sveta's repeated phrase, "Ты же меня не любишь," he keeps answering in formulas. He continually refers to his dowry, the sheets which he used to buy for himself as birthday presents and which he then washed and ironed. The phrase "Я стирал и гладил, гладил и стирал" becomes one of the recurring leitmotifs associated with Tolja. When Sveta tells him "Ведь ты же меня не любишь," he keeps repeating again in a recurring unchanged formula, "Кандидатуры одна за другой отпадали, ... я любить никого не способен." Another of Tolja's memorable phrases, "Я покраснел,"[7] is connected with rain and Sveta's mother. There is no real conversation between these two people. Even Sveta, who is capable of a little bit more depth and breadth in her psychological and moral makeup, who is more human, who wants to be loved and has genuine feelings and concerns, begins to use Tolja's formulas. She even refers to the other women to whom Tolja had proposed as "кандидатуры." Although the ending does not provide answers, there is a slight hint that perhaps Sveta might become more like Tolja, rather than the opposite. They are lonely individuals who find each other but remain most ordinary and empty.

In the second play, *Лестничная клетка,*[8] the subject is again a variant of love. The action starts with a pick-up. The protagonists are two men and a woman who meet on a "blind date" arranged by a matchmaker for whose services Galja, the woman, had paid. Galja would like to have a baby. This is the central plot of the play. The three, Jura, Slava and Galja, met at a bus stop and now stand in front of her apartment door while Galja hesitates and fumbles for the key, pretending that it has been lost. For this reason, all action takes place on the staircase landing. It is there that Galja and the audience learn that Jura is a musician, who plays Chopin marches in a funeral orchestra, and that Slava works in some kind of institute. All three have very little to say; but the two men tell her about the problems of getting involved with a man and having a baby, those connected with marriage, with mothers-in-law, and so on. In the course of this conversation, a sympathy develops between them; and in the end, when at eleven o'clock Galja is thrown out of her room by her apartment mate, she brings food out on to the staircase. As they eat and drink, it appears that a relationship is developing and that something will happen on a level beyond the money and matchmaking.

The action of the third play *Анданте*[9] also takes place in one room; this one is jammed with suitcases and boxes. It is the apartment of Soviet diplomats who have returned from abroad loaded with goods. For this play Petrushevskaja has chosen members of the diplomatic and bureaucratic Soviet elite as her subject. They have everything a Soviet citizen dreams of owning. There are four characters in the play, three of whom are: a diplomat Maj, his wife Julja, and her former friend and his mistress Bul'di. In addition to this "ménage à trois" there is a fourth character, the seemingly weak, innocent and abused young girl, Au. There is a play on the word "Au" which is the cry one sometimes hears from mushroom hunters in the woods or when a baby cries.

The three people who are living a "ménage à trois," Maj, Julja and Bul'di, are inseparable and interdependent. If Julja were to divorce Maj, he would lose his position and she would lose opportunities to travel abroad and access to foreign goods. Bul'di can not leave Maj or Julja because she also would lose her opportunity to travel abroad and buy foreign goods. All three are tied to each other because of material possessions and greed. Au, who took care of the apartment while the menage lived abroad, is still living there. Au's husband had left her when she was in the hospital having a baby which she miscarried. She has no place of her own and no one to go to. As the three move back in, they want to throw Au out. In order to stay in the apartment, Au begins to blackmail them by reciting long lists of merchandise which she demands. Her "shopping" list includes: "дублёнка ..., сапоги ..., косметику ..., бельё, только не синтетику ..., спортивное всё ..., куртка ..., брюки вельвет ..., маечки ..., комбинезон ...,"[10] the list seems endless. Au, who in the beginning was the only character who had the potential of being a true human being, becomes just as corrupt as the others. Maj, Julja and Bul'di have almost nothing to say, no thoughts to reveal; they are on drugs and pills. In the end they give Au pills and induce her to become addicted.

The language of this play at times transcends rational speech. Utterances are often meaningless sounds, mere gibberish resembling foreign nonsense words such as "Андстрем, пулы, метвицы, габрио, мальро, бескайты, пинди, чурчехелла, кашпо, кишкильда"[11] and etc. These endow the work with a musical quality. The sounds seem mysterious and full of hidden meaning. They create a rhythmical pattern. Since Maj has taken a liking to Au as the play ends, we watch the four of them beginning to live "happily" together. There is a final

choral statement addressed to Au: "Come to us, we will sing in four voices."[12] The play ends with all the characters together dancing a "хоровод," a Russian circular dance. In *Анданте* Petrushevskaja again reveals the moral and ethical bankruptcy and corruption of another layer of Soviet society. This is yet another variant of "Homo Sovieticus."

Квартира Коломбины,[13] the last and most powerful play in this cycle, continues the theme of love. The characters in this play are all actors, another privileged group in Soviet society. Petrushevskaja presents human relationships in farcical situations and human beings as stock characters. She utilizes the traditional "commedia dell'arte"[14] structure and characters familiar to Russian audiences in *Балаганчик*, *Петрушка*, and *Pagliacci*. She stands much of the traditional "commedia dell'arte" on its head and imbues it with a uniquely Russian character.

In *Квартира Коломбины*, as in "commedia dell'arte," there is much improvisation, comedy, raciness, buffoonery and slapstick. The names are those from "commedia dell'arte": Colombina, Pierrot and Harlequin. However, Petrushevskaja gives Colombina and the other characters Russian patronymics, names and nicknames: Kolombina's patronymic is Ivanovna, and she is nicknamed Kolia; P'ero is called Vanja or Manja; and Arlekin is called Arik. In addition, Petrushevskaja shifts, reverses and rearranges the roles and functions of the "commedia dell'arte" stock characters. Colombina is usually Harlequin's young, saucy, adroit sweetheart. Petrushevskaja shows her as an older woman of uncertain age and not pretty. She is the seductress, the aggressor and bird of prey. She uses any means in her power to seduce P'ero (Pierrot), rather than Arlekin (Harlequin) who is traditionally the stock lover. The object of Kolombina's advances is P'ero, the young actor whose only role had been that of a cat in a children's play. He therefore wears a permanently glued mustache on his face. In a traditional "commedia dell'arte," Pierrot, the messenger-servant, is sent on errands. In this play Kolombina sends Arlekin, the husband, to shop for food because a foreign visitor from Denmark is coming for dinner. He has to buy "гречневая каша" (buckwheat groats cereal), cabbage and tangerines. Since these ordinary food items are not available in the stores, he returns with what he can find: cream of wheat, bone fat and beets. The shopping takes a long time; and while her husband is away, Kolombina tries to seduce P'ero.

A "commedia dell'arte" scenario is usually a story about love. In *Квартира Коломбины* Petrushevskaja reverses the traditional love story and replaces it with a double seduction: first Kolombina and later Arlekin try to seduce P'ero. In addition, she inserts a rehearsal of *Romeo and Juliet*, the story of true love, into the narrative. However, Kolombina and P'ero reverse their roles: Kolombina plays Romeo and P'ero (still wearing his glued-on whiskers) plays Juliet. By reversing sex roles in this play within a play, Petrushevskaja uses *Romeo and Juliet* as a foil for contrast. This serves to illustrate the lack of love and innocence and the sordidness and vulgarity of her three characters. Their only motivation is sexual desire and lust. Petrushevskaja reveals the true nature of the three characters to be the opposite of everything usually expected.

The reversal of stock character functions and role reversals creates slapstick comedy and increasing confusion. This confusion is further heightened by Kolombina's attempts to seduce P'ero and later by Arlekin's attempt to also seduce P'ero, whom he thinks is Manja rehearsing the role of Juliet. This creates a case of double mistaken identity, a situational slapstick comedy, which results in total confusion.

Through this play Petrushevskaja satirizes backstage life in the Soviet theater, in particular, the behavior and character of the actors, the way in which meetings and rehearsals are conducted, and the way roles are assigned.

Her play is also a commentary on Soviet *быт*, the day-to-day problems and drudgery of Soviet reality. There are numerous references to shortages in the stores and to the problem of obtaining basic necessities. These are presented matter-of-factly through the characters' speech and actions.

When Arlekin returns home from shopping, he shouts:

> "Коля! Коля! Коломбина! Гречки нет, я купил манки. Сварим Датчанке манку, тоже чисто русская пища. Капусты нет, я купил костного жира, у них там небось этого нет! Мандарин нет, я купил свёклу. Кулинария закрыта на санитарный день, выводят тараканов!"[15]

Petrushevskaja's use of language is remarkable. Language is her primary means of characterization. We get to know Pierrot/Vanja/Manja through the character's utterances. His poor preparation for acting is revealed through his diction. For example, he mispronounces "чего мой принц" as "че это мой принц."[16]

Petrushevskaja is a master of verbal comedy. Her dialogues, which are constructed in stages with numerous pauses, produce unexpected, often comical effects. The following dialogue between Kolombina and P'ero illustrates this:

> Пьеро: А где ваш муж?
> Коломбина (медленно): Какой ... муж?
> Пьеро: Ваш.
> Коломбина: Мой ... муж?
>
> ……
>
> Пьеро: А где он?
> Коломбина: Он? Пошел в магазин.
> Пьеро: За чем?
> Коломбина: За капустой.
> Пьеро: Ну, всего вам доброго. (Встаёт)
> Коломбина: Сядьте. Он пошел за капустой и за гречневой крупой.[17]

Later we learn that he also went to get tangerines, which any Russian knows are a rarity and a ridiculous and preposterous idea. This demonstrates Petrushevskaja's method of word renewal. When describing the truly Russian supper she is preparing for her Danish visitor, Kolombina says: "щи, каша, мандарины ..."[18] Petrushevskaja uses the worn-out saying "щи да каша, пища наша" and adds to it the unexpected "мандарины," a very un-Russian, exotic food item. She breaks up a cliché expression and creates her own trope.

Petrushevskaja's comments on Soviet reality and her indirect satire are revealed in a humorous, "laughter through tears" way. *Квартира Коломбины* is the last movement in this dramatic cycle. It presents characters who not only wear masks but are truly masks and are no longer human. They are stock characters from a play transformed into the reality of Soviet *быт* in which they play out their roles. They have no thoughts, no ideals, no love. Everybody including her husband knows that Kolombina lies and that she has many lovers; however, they accept it. Lies have become part of daily life and do not surprise or shock anyone.

The plays in this cycle show the many faces of love and the humanizing effect of love, without which men are transformed into masks and spiritual robots.

Ljudmila Petrushevskaja: A New Voice of Glasnost

Helen Segall, Dickinson College

Ljudmila Petrushevskaja, like other contemporary Russian prose writers representing the New Voices of Glasnost, presents the naked truth about mundane, day-to-day realities of Soviet life and gives voice to her contemporary "Homo Sovieticus." She reveals the tragedy of Soviet life. Moral bankruptcy and poverty of spiritual life are basic ingredients of the "Homo Sovieticus" of the 1980s.

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[1] For a detailed discussion of the development of Russian literature from 1985 to 1990, see Helen Segall, "From the Thaw to Glasnost," in *Perestroika at the Crossroads*, ed. A.J. Rieber and A.Z. Rubinstein (Armonk, NY and London, England: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1991), pp. 52-71.

[2] Benedikt Sarnov, personal interview, Wayne, PA (10 April, 1990).

[3] Людмила Петрушевская, *Любовь* в книге *Песни XX века* (Москва: Союз театральных деятелей РСФСР, 1988), сс. 133-147.

[4] Петрушевская, *Любовь*, сс. 137, 139, 141.

[5] Петрушевская, *Любовь*, сс. 140, 142.

[6] Петрушевская, *Любовь*, с. 146.

[7] Петрушевская, *Любовь*, с. 145.

[8] Людмила Петрушевская, *Лестничная клетка* в книге *Песни XX века* (Москва: Союз театральных деятелей РСФСР, 1988), сс. 148-159.

[9] Людмила Петрушевская, *Анданте* в книге *Песни XX века* (Москва: Союз театральных деятелей РСФСР, 1988), сс. 160-171.

[10] Петрушевская, *Анданте*, с. 170.

[11] Петрушевская, *Анданте*, сс. 160-1, 165-6, 168.

[12] Петрушевская, *Анданте*, с. 171.

[13] Людмила Петрушевская, *Квартира Коломбины* в книге *Песни XX века* (Москва: Союз театральных деятелей РСФСР, 1988), сс. 172-181.

[14] "Commedia dell'arte," in *The Cambridge Guide to World Theatre* (Cambridge, Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 222-224, 432-433, 767; also in *The Encyclopedia Americana* (Danbury, CT: Grolier, Inc., 1990) v. 22, p. 83, v.7, pp. 377-378.

[15] Петрушевская, *Квартира Коломбины*, с. 177.

[16] Петрушевская, *Квартира Коломбины*, с. 179.

[17] Петрушевская, *Квартира Коломбины*, с. 172.

[18] Петрушевская, *Квартира Коломбины*, с. 175.

Village Prose in the 1980s: Rewriting and Rereading Literary History

Kathleen Parthé, University of Rochester

Russian Village Prose began in the 1950s with articles critical of the way collective farms were being managed and developed into an insider's view of rural life that revolved around nostalgic visits to the village of one's childhood and a celebration of the values and rituals of traditional rural Russia. It represented a new approach to rural themes and characters and a return to literature of high aesthetic quality after several decades of Socialist Realism. The most important writers linked to this movement include: Ovechkin, Dorosh, Soloukhin, Kazakov, Abramov, Solzhenitsyn, Shukshin, Tendrjakov, Yashin, Belov, Rasputin and Astafev. Village Prose is the largest and most unified body of aesthetically interesting and ideologically significant literature to be published in the Soviet Union during the years between Stalin's death and the end of the Brezhnev era.

By the 1980s Village Prose no longer functioned as a viable literary movement in and of itself as it had during the previous two decades, but the legacy of *canonical* Village Prose, its erstwhile writers, and works that evolved from this type of literature—what I call "post-Village Prose"—all were an important part of the literary process.

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Kathleen Parthé, University of Rochester

I will begin by explaining why I believe that for the most part Village Prose had run its course by 1980. Then I will continue with a number of ways in which Village Prose and the *деревенщики*, "Village Prose writers," have taken part in the rewriting and rereading of literary history in the 1980s.

Valentin Rasputin's *Прощание с Матёрой* (*Farewell to Matjora*, 1976) seemed to its author and to the majority of Soviet critics to "logically complete the village theme."[1] The apocalyptic finale of the work—with fire, flood, and the outside world disappearing in an impenetrable fog—was the strongest possible image for expressing the sense that the traditional village had reached the end of its history. In a frequently cited quotation, Rasputin compared the writing of *Матёра* to the visit of a son to his dying mother.[2] He declared a turning point in his creative life as he, too, "left" the island for the new settlements. By allowing himself to be swept along by currents both literal and figurative, Rasputin opened up the possibility of exploring the theme of the negative impact of rural transformation not only on the traditional village but also on the new settlements that replace it. *Матёра* may have been the most important work on rural themes in the second half of the 1970s, but it was hardly the only one. There was in fact a great deal of activity in the final years of the Village Prose movement. Some of the other works from this period include: Astaf'ev's *Царь-рыба* (*King-Fish*, 1976), the first parts of Mozhaev's *Мужики и бабы* (*Peasant Men and Women*, 1976), Belov's *Кануны* (*The Eve*, 1976), *Дом* (*The House*), the fourth and final volume of Abramov's *Пряслины* (*The Pryaslins*, 1978), Belov's essays on folk aesthetics called *Лад* (*Harmony*, 1978-81), and Lichutin's "Бабушки и дядюшки" ("Grandmothers and Uncles," 1976) and *Последний колдун* (*The Last Wizard*; 1979). There was a very lively and protracted discussion of Village Prose in primarily *Литературная газета* (*Literaturnaja gazeta*) in 1979 and 1980, as there had been in 1967-8.

The elegiacal period of Village Prose, centered on the memoirs of a rural childhood, was drawing to a close. *Деревенская проза* (Village Prose) went through that period of decline and transformation to which all literary movements are subject. It had been pointed out in the criticism at the end of the seventies—and obviously sensed by Rasputin at least—that Village Prose was in danger of repeating itself endlessly and becoming just as clichéd and predictable as its immediate predecessor in the countryside, *колхозная литература* (collective-farm literature). As early as 1974, Vladimir Gusev had complained that readers were sick and tired of being herded out into the open air ("на лоне всем надоевшей природы") and into log houses and churches: "можно подумать, что иных забот нет в XX веке."[3] By 1981 Igor Shaitanov was writing with obvious impatience: "Все, что можно было вспомнить, вспомнили. Меняются только названия деревень и имена родственников."[4] One problem was that along with very gifted writers, the popularity of Village Prose and the relative ease with which it was published attracted a large number of epigones. The conventions of Village Prose—what I call its parameters—began to be the subject of parodies as well as of outright criticism.

The years 1980-85 were relatively quiet ones for the village writers. The writers' silence was partly due to accidents of fate: for example, the vicious attack on Rasputin (the motive of which seems to have been robbery) in March 1980 and his long recovery period, and the deaths of Kazakov (1982), Abramov (1983), and Tendrjakov (1984). There was also the problem of censorship and editorial timidity which hindered the natural evolution of the movement towards franker accounts of the war time in the countryside and the process of collectivization.[5] Two talented younger writers who began to attract attention are Boris Ekimov and Vladimir Krupin; the latter's semi-documentary "Сороковой день" ("The Fortieth Day"), the story of a visit to his ailing parents in the countryside, was one of the more significant rural works of this period. [His allegorical "Живая вода" ("Living Water") from 1980 also gained a wide audience.][6] But even though this *повесть в письмах* (epistolary tale) continues to display many of the attributes of Village Prose with its focus on loss, nature, folk language and culture, the past, the village, the peasant home, the family, and, in general, things that can be classified as *родной* (native), it is already possible to see how the rural theme is evolving. Krupin's family no longer lives in its traditional village; his father's forestry job caused them to move frequently, so what the author visits is not his *родная деревня* (native village) or his *малая родина* (native region). Still, he tries very hard to think of the place as his *родной дом* (family home). On *покровская родительская суббота* (a Saturday close to the Intercession and devoted to honoring the dead), he goes to the village cemetery as is the custom, but no one is there for him to remember or honor.[7] He thinks about the fact that his *родные* (relatives) are so widely scattered about the country that it would soon be impossible to visit all their graves—a very important ritual in traditional folk life.

It is not only the break-up of the traditional extended family that bothers Krupin. He also is experiencing a crisis of conscience and of confidence as a rural writer. He feels that much of his previous rural journalism has been full of gaps, lies and half-truths. He also senses that there is very little he can add to what has already been said about the countryside:

> ... у нас Распутин, моих лет, так написал о старухе, что после него никто и не сунется .... талант делает для других невозможным писать о том же, о чём пишет он ... становится бессмысленным. А если кому-то больше не о чем писать? [8]

Krupin, who was born in 1941, is already one of the last of those rural writers who could serve as eyewitnesses to the end of traditional village life [the same is true about *военная литература* (war literature), which, as Mozhaev has observed, will be quite different when it is written by people who were not even old enough to experience the war as children].[9] Krupin chose his title aptly: "The Fortieth Day" in Russian Orthodox belief is the day when the soul of the deceased finally leaves the earth and when a large wake is held to commemorate the loved one. His story is an acknowledgement of loss and of endings.

Village Prose as a movement was waning; a number of older and younger writers continued to write on familiar themes, but their work simply did not have the same impact as it would have had in the previous two decades. However, this is far from being the end of our story. Much more was occurring that is related to the Village Prose canon and which would not have happened in the same way had there not been Village Prose. When Rasputin and his colleagues left the village, they did not disappear into thin air.

Rasputin's 1985 story "Пожар" ("The Fire") is generally seen not only as the beginning of the new literature on rural themes about which Rasputin had spoken in 1977, but also as the first important literary work of the age of glasnost.[10] Starting in 1985 we can begin to see the offshoots of *деревенская литература* emerging after several years of germination. I view what happened in the next five years in terms of a complex rewriting and rereading of literary history, and I will spend the rest of my paper sketching out the most important aspects of this process as I understand them.

(1) As Village Prose fragmented, some of its most talented writers carried its themes into urban settings. New settlements

(Sosnovka in "Пожар"), provincial cities [Veisk in Astaf'ev's "Печальный детектив" ("The Sad Detective")] and Moscow itself [in Belov's "Всё впереди" ("Everything Lies Ahead") and Lichutin's *Любостай* (*The Demon*)] became more important settings than the village itself.[11] The emphasis in these works is on the consequences not just of one uprooted person or village, but on the uprooting of the Russian peasants who had for so long been the largest single group in the Russian population. These works are not simply *pro-village*, they are also *anti-city*. In fact, this new line of works by erstwhile *деревенщики* has been called *антигородская литература* (anti-urban literature). In canonical Village Prose the city was far away; it was exciting and even forbidding for villagers, but it was not irredeemably evil, as it becomes in the 1980s. In "Всё впереди" and other similar works, the city is a place of pernicious foreign trends, thoroughly 'cosmopolitan' (a code word used to indicate what is thought to be under Jewish and foreign influence).[12] The numerous wise old peasants of Village Prose have been reduced to a few isolated *праведники* (righteous ones) who seem like cranks to their urban neighbors. The aphoristic, moralizing, uncompromising Avvakum-Dostoevskij-Solzhenitsyn rhetorical line is revived in this literature. And while the rural literature of the seventies still possesses the *светлость* (luminous quality) that we expect in an elegy, 'post-Village Prose' works are very dark with a great deal of attention paid to crime; they are a new twist to nihilism. While nineteenth-century nihilists like Turgenev's Bazarov profess that everything must be destroyed in order to build the new life, writers in the 1980s proclaim that everything old has been destroyed without having achieved a new life and having left a terrible vacuum in the present.[13]

(2) Several rural writers were engaged in concluding long-term projects in the 1980s. Mozhaev and Belov published further volumes of *Мужики и бабы* and *Кануны*, the rural epics which they had begun in the 1970s.[14] Both writers made certain changes in their narrative approach: at the same time that they are taking advantage of relaxed censorship, using newly accessible archival material, and relying less on their own or their families' stories, they paradoxically begin to express markedly chauvinistic feelings. The historical novel, whether it is distorted by prejudice or not, does not really belong to canonical Village Prose which talks about loss in metaphorical rather than ideological terms. These new works foreground the participation of Jews in the events of 1929-30 both at the level of activists coming into

the village and at the highest level of leadership. There is no ambiguity about the author's intent at the beginning of *Год великого перелома* (*The Critical Year*) which continues the story Belov had begun in *Кануны*.

> И когда б в стране имелся хотя бы один не разворованный монастырь, а в нём хотя бы один-единственный не униженный монах-летописец, может, появилась бы в летописном свитке такая запись: "В лето одна тысяча девятьсот двадцать девятого года, в Филиппов пост попущением Господним сын гродненского аптекаря Яков Яковлев поставлен бысть в Московсом Кремле комиссаром над всеми христианы и землепашцы."
> Таких летописцев не было.[15]

Michael Scammell reports that Sergei Zalygin and others at *Новый мир* (*Novyj mir)* tried to convince Belov to tone down such comments but that he resisted their pressure. There seemed to be a similar kind of resistance to the offensive term *еврейчата* (Jew-kids) in Astaf'ev's *Печальный детектив* which showed up in some editions as the innocuous *вейчата* (residents of Veisk).[16]

One would have expected a fuller account of collectivization to have been a part of glasnost literature, but what has been emerging in this kind of work is a collectivization of the Russian countryside without Russians—or Stalin—playing much of a role. This is not a rereading so much of literary history as of history itself. That Belov at least is going to pursue the story of collectivization, as he sees it, is clear from the November 1989 issue of *Наш современник* (*Nash sovremennik*) in which, under the title "Незаживающая рана" ("The Wound That is Not Healing"), he introduces the reader to the two kinds of letters he has received from readers telling him what they or their families experienced in this difficult period. This, of course, is reminiscent of the gulag archive which Solzhenitsyn began to amass after the publication of *Один день Ивана Денисовича* (*One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich).* We might, then, see long gulag-type volumes on this subject from Belov in the future.

Viktor Astaf'ev has also published further installments of his massive rural memoir *Последний поклон* (*The Final Bow*), including three stories in the March 1988 issue of *Наш современник.* These very interesting and well-written works did not follow the new Belov and Mozhaey line. Astaf'ev's apocalyptic and angry trio of stories in the same journal in May 1986 *were* controversial, especially the ill-tempered "Ловля пескарей в Грузии" ("Fishing for Gudgeon in Georgia") which along with *Печальный детектив* triggered a very spirited and at times exceptionally nasty discussion, the high- or low-point of which was Astaf'ev's correspondence with the late, highly respected scholar Natan Eidelman.

(3) An extension of what I have discussed in (1) and (2) is that the literature which evolved from Village Prose became much less lyrical and much more publicistic to the point that one critic asked whether the very writers who had helped to rid Russian literature of politics had simply done so in order to make room for their own ideological agenda.[17] Rural writers began to speak directly to the public and to devote a greater percentage of their time to publicistic activities. Some of the essays they wrote were primarily ethnographic in character (Rasputin about Siberia, Belov and Lichutin about Northern Russia); but more often in their anger and anxiety for the state of the nation, they have spoken as conservative ideologues. Rasputin, Belov, Astaf'ev, and Lichutin have been particularly outspoken on a number of contemporary issues; readers of such periodicals as *Наш современник* and *Литературная Россия* (*Literaturnaja Rossija*) are regularly treated to their ideas and theories. These statements range from deeply flawed, offensive, and potentially dangerous rereadings of the role of Jews in Russian history, to cranky diatribes on mass culture, especially rock music, and bizarre statements by Lichutin promoting the Russian pagan gods.

(4) A final development in the 1980s involving the *деревенщики* is the publication of Village Prose works which were written in the 1960s but kept in the drawer until recent years. Three of the most interesting of these works are: Soloukhin's "Похороны Степаниды Ивановны" ("Stepanida Ivanovna's Funeral," wr. 1967, pub. in *Новый мир* 1987:9); Tendrjakov's trio of rural stories "Пара гнедых" ("A Pair of Bay Horses"), "Хлеб для собаки" ("Bread for a Dog"), and "Параня" ("Paranya") (wr. 1969-71, pub. in *Новый мир* 1988:3); and Abramov's "Поездка в прошлое" ("A Journey into the Past," wr. 1963-74, pub. in *Новый мир* 1989:5). These are all wonderfully written, rich accounts of rural life which greatly increase our estimation of these writers' talents and, by extension, of the possibilities of Village Prose.[18] It gives lie to the widely-held assumption that censorship had little effect on Village Prose during the period of stagnation and that the writers were free to publish everything they were capable of

writing. It will be interesting to see what else emerges from the drawers of rural writers; the Abramov archive may be especially rich. Soloukhin's autobiographical *Смех за левым плечом (Laughter Behind the Left Shoulder),* another delayed work, was published in 1988 by Possev and a year later by the Soviet journal *Москва* (*Moskva*, 1989:1).[19] In this half-lyrical, half-sour work, Soloukhin basically rewrites his personal and literary history, berating himself for what he calls the lies and compromises of such works as *Капля росы* (*A Drop of Dew*, 1960). Not content with self-criticism, Soloukhin has begun to dismantle the accepted history of Village Prose which sees Ovechkin's "Районные будни" ("District Routine") and Pomerantsev's essay "Об искренности в литературе" ("On Sincerity in Literature") as the "primary chronicles" of the new rural writing. In the February 1990 issue of *Москва,* Soloukhin spoke of the Ovechkin-style reform-очерк (essay) as having been not useful but harmful literature because its writers still accepted the system of collective farms and were simply trying to expose the inefficient way in which they were run. He sees Abramov as a much more truthful and therefore useful writer.[20] This is a major restatement of the development of rural literature in the post-Stalinist period.

Soloukhin has not been alone in his rereading and rewriting of literary history; on the contrary, this has been a favorite occupation in the glasnost years. At first, Village Prose benefited from this process. As the various threads of Russian literature were unified, with the return of emigré literature and works written in the Soviet Union but never before published there, critics began to look at the whole course of Russian literature in the Soviet period; and the important role that Village Prose played was openly acknowledged. Jurij Davydov wrote that wherever the "moral-philosophical 'nucleus'" of Russian literature resided in the decades after the Revolution, it definitely "returned" to Russia in the 1960s through the works of Soviet Russian Village Prose writers.[21] Nikolai Anastas'ev called the *деревенщики* the "direct and legitimate heirs to the Russian classicial tradition." He reminded readers that these rural writers had bypassed the now openly derided Socialist Realism tradition and looked to pre-Revolutionary literature for their inspiration. Galina Belaja had earlier warned of the harm done when past literary history is forgotten.[22] The emigré poet Naum Korzhavin, in answer to an "анкета" (questionnaire) from *Иностранная литература* (*Inostrannaja literatura*), wrote that Village Prose and all it has meant to Russian literature has been "unjustly forgotten" because the flowering of this movement coincided with the "period of stagnation." He went on to say:

> Какие бы факторы ни позволили ей тогда состояться, какие бы странные высказывания ни допускали сегодня некоторые её представители ... это не застойная, а настоящая литература—к тому же много сделавшая в то трудное время и делающая сейчас для восстановления исторической правды и развития общественного самосознания ...[23]

S. Frederick Starr, in a recent essay, has described canonical Village Prose as highly critical literature which "encouraged public dialogue on reform" because it revealed the "poverty, aimlessness, and spiritual alienation in large parts of the population."[24] What Korzhavin calls "strange statements" refers of course to the chauvinistic pronouncements made by a number of erstwhile Village Prose writers.[25] Because of these activities and because of legitimate fears of the potential dangers in a revival of extreme Russian nationalism, canonical Village Prose has been reread as being the seedbed of chauvinism with erstwhile Village Prose writers as being its chief architects. The situation has reached the point in which Vasilij Aksjonov can call the *деревенщики* "писатели нацисты" ("writer-Nazis").[26]

I analyze this very complex situation at length in my book *The Radiant Past: Russian Village Prose from Ovechkin to Rasputin.*[27] I will make just a few remarks here.

(1) Anti-semitism has been present in Russia for a very long time. There would have been a revivial of anti-semitism even if Village Prose had never existed. When Village Prose ended as a movement in the late 1970s, before the rise of Pamjat', it was seen as moderately nationalist.

(2) The revival of anti-semitism in the 1980s came from primarily urban stimuli and urban activists. Several rural writers chimed in around 1987.

(3) Literary critics (Chalmaev, Lobanov, V. Gorbachev, et al.) in the 1960s and 1970s turned the metaphors of Village Prose into ideological concepts and did much more to consciously promote the rise of Russian chauvinism than did the writers themselves. This to some extent mirrors the situation, with different political content, in the mid-nineteenth century in the critical essays, for instance, of Belinskij, Dobroljubov, Chernyshevskij, and Pisarev.

(4) Belov, Rasputin, and Astaf'ev, the rural writers most involved in making chauvinistic pronouncements, have generally done so in letters, interviews, speeches, and publicistic essays, not in their fictional works.

To understand the role of Russian Village Prose in the 1980s, we have to be clear about when literary movements begin and end and about the difference between what a writer presents within an artistic work and outside of it. It helps to think more in terms of a *деревенская проза* which began in the 1950s and had ended by 1980 and of some of the village writers going on to other types of activities in the 1980s which may be related to Village Prose themes but which are not identical to Village Prose.

It is important to remember that not only urban writers had a *долгий ящик* (drawer) for unpublishable works, but that there is some volume of *задержанная* (delayed) Village Prose which we are beginning to see and which may contain works of great literary and historical interest. The Village Prose movement may be over, but not all of the Village Prose written in previous decades has appeared.

Because the generation of eyewitnesses to traditional rural life is an aging population for whom there can be no replacements, the 1990s can bring very few new talents; young writers will find other themes or settings. But Village Prose has had an important role in the post-Stalinist period, and this role should not be ignored in the incredibly complex literary process in Russia today. No matter whether such erstwhile *деревенщики* as Rasputin, Belov, and Astaf'ev return to lyrical fiction or whether they continue to exercise an, at times, pernicious influence as public figures, such past achievements as *Прощание с Матёрой, Лад,* and *Последний поклон* have permanently enriched contemporary Russian literature.

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[1] Лилия Вильсек, "Вниз по течению деревенской прозы," *Вопросы литературы,* № 6 (1985), с. 72.

[2] Валентин Распутин, "Не мог не проститься с Матёрой," *Литературная газета,* 16 марта 1977; trans. as "I Had to Say Goodbye to Matjora," *Soviet Studies in Literature,* Vol. 14, no. 3 (Summer 1978), p. 43.

[3] Владимир Гусев, *В предчувствии нового* (Москва: Советский писатель, 1974), сс. 197-8; as quoted by Светов, с. 4.

[4] Игорь Шайтанов, "Реакция на перемены (Точка зрения автора и героя в литературе о деревне)," *Вопросы литературы*, № 5 (1986), с. 59.

[5] My discussions with Village Prose writers have confirmed this point. For example, in rural scenes taking place in occupied areas during World War II, writers might be asked to include Soviet partisans even when this is historically incorrect. Also, publication of several of the more critical chronicles of collectivization was delayed for several years.

[6] Владимир Крупин, "Сороковой день," *Наш современник*, № 11 (1988).

[7] On the many "Parents' Saturdays" see: George P. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind: Kievan Christianity, the Tenth to the Thirteenth Centuries* (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p. 16.

[8] Крупин, с. 93.

[9] Boris Mozhaev, remarks at the "Topicality of Contemporary Soviet Literature" conference, University of Amsterdam, May 31-June 2, 1988.

[10] Валентин Распутин, "Пожар," *Наш современник*, № 7 (1985); also Gerald Mikkelson and Margaret Winchell, "Valentin Rasputin and His Siberia," Intro. to *Siberia on Fire: Stories and Essays by Valentin Rasputin* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois UP, 1989), p. xvii.

[11] Виктор Астафьев, *Печальный детектив*, *Октябрь*, № 1 (1986); Василий Белов, "Всё впереди," *Наш современник*, № 7-8 (1987); Владимир Личутин, *Любостай* (Москва: Современный писатель, 1987).

[12] Belov even goes so far as to contrast the healthy perspiration of the Russian peasant to the nasty *международный пот* (international sweat) that one notices in a tourist attraction like Moscow's Tretjakov Gallery. Negative female characters have hair that smells of foreign shampoo.

[13] See for example: Виктор Астафьев, "Людочка," *Новый мир*, № 9 (1989).

[14] Борис Можаев, *Мужики и бабы*, *Дон*, № 1-3 (1987); Василий Белов, *Кануны*, *Новый мир*, № 3 (1989). This installment of *Кануны* is known as *Год великого перелома* (*The Critical Year*).

[15] Белов, *Год великого перелома*, с. 6.

[16] Sheila Kunkle, "Nationalism, Chauvinism and Viktor Astaf'ev's *Pechal'nyj Detektiv*," in *Graduate Essays on Slavic Languages and Literatures*, University of Pittsburgh, Dept. of Slavic Languages and Literatures, vol. 2 (1989), pp. 96-7.

[17] А. Хватов, "Знаки подлинности. Заметки о современной литературе," *Звезда*, № 3 (1987), с. 186.

[18] The Soloukhin story is a Voinovich-like, darkly humorous tale about his mother's death and burial. The Tendrjakov stories take place, respectively, during 1929, 1933, and 1937 and show the effect of collectivization, dekulakization, and the purges on the author as a boy. Abramov's hero discovers his father's true identity and then dies.

[19] A few days after I presented this paper at Bryn Mawr College in May, 1990, an interview with Soloukhin appeared in which he discussed various works that he had been waiting to publish for years, including a five-hundred page manuscript called *Последная ступень* (*The Final Stage*), written in 1976. It is scheduled to appear in the journal *Москва* as soon as the author has had time to prepare it for publication. Soloukhin also wants to reissue previous works in their uncut form. Владимир Солоухин, "Идти по своей тропе. Интервью перед публикацией," *Литературная газета*, 30 мая 1990, с. 4.

[20] Владимир Солоухин, "Это был боец, воин, рыцарь .... К 70-летию со дня рождения Фёдора Абрамова," *Москва*, № 2 (1990), сс. 167-8.

[21] Jurij Davydov's remarks are part of a dialogue with Николай Анастасьев, "Любовь к 'ближнему' или 'дальнему'?," *Литературная газета*, 22 фев. 1989, с. 2.

[22] Галина Белая, "Перепутье," *Вопросы литературы*, № 12 (1987), с. 75.

[23] Наум Коржавин, in "Резонанс. На анкету 'ИЛ' отвечают писатели русского зарубежья," *Иностранная литература*, № 3 (1989), с. 249.

[24] S. Frederick Starr, "The Road to Reform," in Abraham Brumberg, ed. *Chronicle of a Revolution: A Western-Soviet Inquiry into Perestroika* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990), p. 25.

[25] Primarily Rasputin, Belov, and Astaf'ev, although several more—Krupin, Lichutin, and Likhonosov—signed the 'letter of 74' in the March 2, 1990 issue of *Литературная Россия*. It was one of the most disturbing statements of the Gorbachev era.

[26] Василий Аксёнов, "Не вполне сентиментальное путешествие," *Новое русское слово*, 16 марта 1990, с. 10. This article was translated by Moira Ratchford and Josephine Woll as: Vasilij Aksjonov, "Not Quite a Sentimental Journey," *The New Republic*, April 16, 1990, p. 24. Rasputin has been especially singled out for attention in such places as "National Public Radio" and *The New York Times* because of his position on Gorbachev's inner council.

[27] Forthcoming, Princeton University Press.

Rethinking the Past and the Gorbachev Thaw

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I need hardly remind members of this symposium that the cultural production of glasnost is, to an *inordinate* extent, looking back over time to the fateful moments in the national past. One of the intelligentsia's favorite periodicals of the moment, Огонёк (*Ogonjok)*, the chief bugbear of the cultural conservatives, functions, to be sure, as a popular source for outspoken critiques of contemporary Soviet society; and yet in some of its issues it has been almost completely given over to retrospectivism, a curious phenomenon in the herald of a thaw whose ostensible aim is to save the country from stagnation and conservatism. And in this Gorbachev revolution the names of the two leading rival cultural organizations among intellectuals are both versions of a word for memory—Память (*Pamjat')* and Мемориал (*Memorial*).

As so much of the energy in Soviet cultural life today is directed at reclaiming those vast reaches of the past which have been systematically excluded from public discourse and civic space, it is not only the Soviets but also we on the sidelines who suffer from what Mikhail Epstein has called "past shock." The overwhelming volume of such material is difficult to assimilate. But more difficult still, as films and literary works written in very different times appear simultaneously, *as if* of this time, temporal confusion results. Time, as a sense of sequence, is out of joint; but it is out of joint in order that it be reordered. This is the secret agenda of all Soviet thaws.

The term "thaw" is of course metaphoric. It refers to the time in nature when the winter ice and snow melt and draws an implicit comparison with the melting of rigid restraints. A thaw, however, also *seeks out* metaphors. More specifically, it seeks out a point or sequence of points in the past without the intention that society should return to such a point literally, but rather that some canonical image of this period should illumine the present.

Soviet culture has always been grounded in a particular temporal model. Although the society is ostensibly future-oriented, in fact the greatest care has been taken to define the past, to establish the society's genealogy. Throughout Soviet history and even in the pre-revolutionary period there has been a marked proclivity for writers and officials to articulate their model of the present in terms of a particular great time in the past or in terms of the work of a particular historical figure. Most frequently they have adduced a triadic pattern, a genealogy whereby the present represents the third and culminating moment in a series stretching over time. This master model, then, serves as a dominant in political and intellectual discourse for a given period; both official spokesmen *and* more dissident figures tend to articulate their sense of the present in terms of it. However, each protagonist accentuates his account of the current historical model a little differently; and these slight differences can be highly consequential. The society is legitimized in a myth of origins and a line of succession (of either great men or great epochs) stretching from that moment of origin through the present. It is in moments of crisis such as thaws and revolutions that the need for models from the past becomes most intensely felt. With each major political upheaval, the canonical points of temporal orientation have been reshuffled and reevaluated; and a new genealogy has emerged to replace the old.

Thus a thaw represents an intensified expression of what is a normal procedure in literary history at all times. There is in culture a constant rethinking of the past, a process which is reflected in reaccentuations in the discourse we use and in the makeup of our dominant symbols and images.[1] There is a constant, if not always perceptible process whereby the master narrative which informs our very perception of reality is slightly reordered or transvalued. In the Soviet Union where, for most of its history, the hegemonic forces have

characteristically attempted to freeze history and to countervail against such flux, these fits of memory are necessary components in the struggle to master history as change.

One can read Soviet cultural history as a text that is chaptered by different versions of the past to which intellectuals—both Party and non-Party—have turned. Frequently, the same genealogy has been adduced as at some earlier point in time. Certain perennials such as the regimes of Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great and the Decembrist Revolt of 1825 recur again and again as points of orientation for the country as it debates the way forward. But of course such historical paradigms are always interpreted *differently* because they are in each case contextualized differently.

But then, how do these changes come into being? It was not just the case that each successive model—or its interpretation—was mandated from on high. Nor was it the case that a given model was, as it were, promoted by intellectuals in response to events. Under Stalin, of course, the historical models were in some sense mandated. Thus, for instance, Eisenstein recalled in his account of how the film *Ivan the Terrible* was made that in the late thirties Stalin summoned the giants of Soviet culture to a meeting at the Kremlin and instructed them to go away and start preparing works about Ivan the Terrible in which he would be perceived as a great ruler of Russia. This incident does not establish that the models were mandated strictly from on high, however, because, in the first place, Stalin formed his conception of Ivan from reading a book by Vipper, and, secondly, what Eisenstein produced (especially in Part II) was not what Stalin had in mind (and hence the project was never allowed to be completed).

In the Soviet period, the impulse to historicise has been *larger* than the intention of the players, even of the players ostensibly calling the changes. Similarly, there has never been a conscious decision made about what was to be, so to speak, the historical model of the month. Without pretending to solve the mysteries of cause and effect, I hope to demonstrate in the examples I shall adduce today that most often the historical model itself has gained ascendancy in public discourse *before* the revolutionary moment, whether that revolution or thaw was Lenin's revolution or Gorbachev's. However, once the crisis occurs, the model has frequently been modified or reaccented by the shaping forces of events as they transpire on the historical stage.

I shall illustrate some of the particular permutations that this general pattern has assumed by concentrating on two moments of most intense search for historical precedents, that is, around the time of the October Revolution and in the present. This choice seems particularly appropriate, incidentally, since intellectuals of today are positively obsessed with what happened in the twenties. However, as we shall see, their perception of that time is, in their works, necessarily refracted through an ex post facto point of view.

In the years immediately before and after 1917, a similar historical model captivated the imagination of large sections of the intelligentsia then in the grip of Nietzscheanism *and* of those leftist intellectuals, including many Bolsheviks, who were trying to formulate models for the culture of the new society. For all such groups, a starting point was a revulsion against the rentier mercantilist culture which was coming to dominate Russian society. This rentier mercantilist culture included, in their view, both the high culture of the privileged and what we would call popular mass culture which they associated with the boulevard novel and the cafe chantant. In seeking to purge Russian culture of this material, which was frequently referred to at the time as an "Augean stable," the model most often adduced was Hellenic Athens as a place where, allegedly, the masses were not excluded from or manipulated by cultural production, but rather participated in it.

For the Bolshevik intellectuals, however, even before the Revolution the primary historical referents or great ages of the past to be resurrected in greater glory through their Great Revolution were from French history—the French Revolution of 1789 and the Paris Commune of 1871. Even after the Revolution, less attention was paid to Russia's own revolutionary prehistory; generally it was non-Bolshevik writers (such as the Scythians) who stressed native precedents for 1917, and generally such precedents came from peasant revolts (Stenka Razin, Pugachev). Symptomatically, in the new monumental art sponsored by the Soviet government, although some Russian revolutionaries' statues and busts were commissioned, they were outnumbered by statues to French revolutionaries such as Marat and Robespierre.[2]

In accounting for this predilection for French models, one might be tempted to point to the fact that before the Revolution Russia was dependent on France economically and in the world political arena, a situation which was largely duplicated in culture. (At one of the principal state theaters before the Revolution, for instance, all of the productions were in French.[3]) At the same time, that the Bolsheviks should seek models for the Revolution in the French past also reflects the specific intellectual tradition from which they came. As we know, Marx and Engels had devoted most of their discussion of revolutionary processes to events in France; and Lenin regarded Marx's *Civil War in France* as an indispensible text, so much so that when he went into hiding in Finland in 1917, he took only one other book with him.[4] In this respect he was in a sense not only acting out the role of a good Marxist but also of a good Russian *intelligent*; for in the decades leading up to the October Revolution, the revolutionary intelligentsia consisted of all hues and particularly of leftists and liberals. Most of the major histories of the French Revolution, French, German and English, had been published in Russian translation; and they ran a close second numerically only to histories of the Paris Commune. The history of other European countries was only scantily represented in Russian publications; and more surprisingly, even native Russian history was neglected. Contemporary events were almost invariably interpreted in terms of one or another precedent in revolutionary France.[5]

It is not surprising, therefore, that in the initial post-revolutionary years the example of the French Revolution was the dominant one underwriting official cultural policies. For instance, the policy of pulling down the old statues to the tsars and other such icons of autocratic Russia and erecting new, revolutionary statues in their place was conceived at the time as reviving the cultural practices of the French Revolution, as is clear in the rubric used: "To the guillotine with all the old statues." (The guillotine, of course, has no Russian associations.) Also, the institution of a new, revolutionary or "Red" calendar represented a nod in the direction of the French example. Likewise, those who directed the mass spectacles, and especially those who commissioned them, were inspired by the writings of Romain Rolland and Thiersot on the festivals of the French Revolution. (The writing had been published in Russian translation about a decade before.)

However, ancient Greece also emerged as a major historical paradigm for the revolutionary age. In the Party press of this time, one can find lead articles where ancient Athens and Hellenic Greece are invoked as models for the Communist ethos.[6] Rousseau and Thiersot had also traced the lineage of the French revolutionary spectacle back to ancient Greece. (Ancient Greece was, of course, the golden time of Nietzscheans.) Thus, during War Communism a sort of consensus genealogy emerged, one shared by the majority of intellectuals and which informed a great deal of official and less official culture. This triadic genealogy charted the road to October through ancient Greece, the French Revolution and the Paris Commune.

This triadic pattern, then, was transnational and involved a very broad historical sweep; in a sense, it was ahistorical because it gave no account of the time between its nodal points. In this respect, it typified the culture of those times. Indeed, the principal other model for revolutionary culture was the totally transnational, and transhistorical, utopian city such as, paradigmatically, is outlined in Campanella's *The City of the Sun*, a favorite text of Lenin's. The two paradigms—one a utopian city, the other an actual moment in history—are not as different as might appear, however, because part of the appeal of the revolutions in France and of ancient Greece was the model they provided for a civic culture, for a city in which the poet served his people and his elders rather than the god Mammon.

Thus, under War Communism, the dominant historical model saw the Revolution as the culmination of a series of moments which stretched back to ancient Greece. However, this model proved open to interpretation in that each group within the intelligentsia gave it different accentuation.

There were at least two principal interpretations of the temporal model; the non-Party intelligentsia understood it as originating in "humanistic" Hellenic Athens whose baton was taken up by the French Revolution. They acknowledged but downplayed the Paris Commune as a stage in the historical progression and proclaimed the October Revolution the ultimate realization of the spirit of Hellenic Athens. The Bolsheviks, on the other hand, tended to understand the point of origin in "ancient Greece" not to be Athens but to be the more militaristic and regimented Sparta (as did Rousseau). Similarly, in Bolshevik accounts of the next stage in the progression of the French Revolution, they focused on the later years of the revolution when Marat and others proved unflinching in suppressing "counterrevolutionaries" and when the revolution had to prove strong in the face of invading foreign armies.

The patterns of division between those groups who espoused one interpretation and those who espoused another remained approximately the same as had been during the years leading up to the Revolution, i.e. in the 1910s, although some reaccentuations had occurred in response to such events as the Revolution itself and the

Foreign Intervention. Arguably, the decisive break with previous cultural models in establishing the official genealogy for the Revolution came not in 1917, but in 1924-1925, i.e. in the period immediately following Lenin's death.

At this time, a totally new and Russocentric genealogy for the Revolution emerged: its general framework embraced a sort of prehistory in the Russian peasant revolts followed by a triad of revolutionary moments culminating in October, comprising the Decembrist uprising of 1825, the 1905 Revolution and the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. This triad became the official genealogy for the 1917 Revolution and as such has remained largely in place to this day. Thus Eisenstein's film *Потёмкин* (*The Battleship Potjomkin)* (commissioned in 1925 to celebrate the 20th anniversary that year of the 1905 Revolution) opens with the words attributed to Lenin: "Revolution is the only lawful, equal and effective war. It was in Russia that this war was first declared and won."

Suddenly, it would seem, the official genealogy was not transnational but hermetically Russocentric. As it were, once Lenin was dead, the Stalins came out to play. Actually, the shift away from an international perspective probably has more to do with the defeat of revolutionary forces in Germany in late 1923 than with Lenin's death the following January. Moreover, one cannot assume this shift was entirely motivated from above (e.g., that it was a direct result of Stalin's policy of Socialism in One Country, promulgated in late 1924). One can, for example, detect even earlier a similar shift among non-Party leftists and cultural intellectuals other than the avant-garde as seen in such events as their celebration of the Dostoevskij and Pushkin anniversaries in 1921.

When the triad 1825/1905/1917 became the canonical account of the road to October, the non-Bolshevik intelligentsia largely adopted the same dominant historical model as did the Party. Moreover, non-Party intellectuals effectively appropriated it to their ends. As individual intellectuals adopted the new triadic revolutionary genealogy, it tended to be the case that non-Party intellectuals chose to celebrate 1825 and Bolsheviks and the supporters of "left art" such as Eisenstein 1905. Thus we have here another case of varying accentuation.

The question arises, why did non-Party intellectuals focus on 1825? One obvious answer is that they were attracted by the Aesopean potential of a moment exactly 100 years before their own time and that they could engage in this mediated way the movement from a time of revolution to one of reaction and cultural stagnation. A particularly striking example of this use of 1825 can be seen in Jurij Tynjanov's novel *Кюхля* (*Kjukhlja,* 1925), a fictionalized biography of Kjukhelbecker, a minor figure in the Decembrist circle.

Although the novel was commissioned to mark the anniversary of the Decembrist Uprising in 1925, political revolution is arguably not its central thrust. In Tynjanov's hands, the Decembrists emerge less as political rebels and more as champions of the kind of aesthetic revolution sought by Tynjanov's allies in the avant garde. Throughout, as Tynjanov draws a contrast between the policies of the tsar's appointee Arakcheev and the views of Decembrist sympathizers, he essentially argues the avant garde case for an aesthetic in which a central role is played by "the contingent," by "chance" and by that central avant garde value, defamiliarization.Using the metaphor of Arakcheevshchina, once again, the book also argues implicitly with linguistic theories of Nikolai Marr, whose growing power threatened the Formalist position, and with the new movements in literature and the arts which veiled their cultural conservatism behind a demand for the "proletarianization" of culture.

Writers like Tynjanov, then, were essentially mapping 1825 onto 1925. Tynjanov wrote *Кюхля* within the broad framework of the official historical model (i.e., 1825/1905/1917). He even hinted at one point in the novel that the shortcomings of the Decembrists as revolutionaries would be overcome in a later generation who would think through the political moment with greater consciousness and rigor—a vague nod in the direction of hailing the coming age of the Bolsheviks. But, and this was typical of literature in the second half of the twenties, the iconic revolutionary moment in the past functioned in this novel primarily as a place to go to explore the present existential dilemmas and strivings of the author's own intellectual caste.

Thus the writers of the second half of the twenties became obsessed with Russian cultural life of the 1820s and 1830s. But it might be said that, similarly, the writers of today have become obsessed with the *nineteen* twenties and thirties.

Of the two decades, the twenties has undoubtedly proved the greater obsession. It is true that much attention has also been paid to the evils of Stalinism in the thirties (and in the forties), as was the case in the thaws under Khrushchev, and that this time some new aspects of the phenomenon have been explored. Significantly, however, most of the writers who have published on the Stalin theme recently either did so under Khrushchev as well (such as Vladimir Dudintsev), or are themselves victims of the purges (such as Chingiz Aitmatov for whom this is far from a new subject).

In actuality, the twenties do not represent, just as the French Revolution does not represent, a single and homogeneous time but rather a period during which a series of momentous and dramatic events occurred. Inevitably, then, different writers and critics today focus on different moments as "the twenties." For instance, some look at NEP as a time of idyll [as in the novel После бури (*After the Storm)* by Sergej Zalygin which appeared between 1982 and 1985].

The shift today to a focus on the twenties is paralleled by a shift to the intelligentsia as subjects for literary production and as positive emblems. Actually, this new self-preoccupation on the part of the intelligentsia is one of the many elements in the culture of this thaw which can be found strongly represented in Soviet culture of the immediately preceding years [see for instance Jurij Bondarev's Игра (*Game)* of 1983].

A sure sign of the new cult of the intellectual is the proclivity for intellectual martyrs. Where, in classic Stalinist literature and even much literature of the Khrushchev and Brezhnev years, martyrs were generally Party members or at least fighters for the revolution, for the past decade they have been intellectuals. Indeed the image of the martyred intellectual must be one of the dominant *topoi* of culture in this thaw; it can be seen in many of the recently released films, such as R. Bykov's Чучело (*Scarecrow)* and T. Abuladze's Покаяние (*Repentance)*, and is arguably at the heart of some of the classics of glasnost literature, such as Chingiz Aitmatov's Плаха (*Execution Block)*, Anatolij Rybakov's Дети Арбата (*Children of the Arbat)*, Jurij Trifonov's Исчезновение (*Disappearance)* and Vladimir Dudintsev's Белые одежды (*White Clothes)*.

The intelligentsia have been obsessed with the early twenties because that was the fateful moment when it split up into Soviet and non-Soviet. It has given itself a mission of reclaiming lost writers, filmmakers and performers, and the early twenties represent the major Rubicon. The intelligentsia clearly wants to be whole again, to reclaim that which considered itself (or was considered) non-Soviet and hence broke off (or was broken off) from Soviet culture.

The intelligentsia has also given itself the task of reclaiming non-persons from among the Party leadership. Some writers have turned their attention to the early twenties as the time of the crucial debates within the Party during the period while Lenin was still alive and the fatal splits in the Party had not yet occurred. This approach is taken primarily by Party members and writers who are embroiled in reevaluating the role of some of the major early Party leaders, such as, most recently, Bukharin. The general implication of such work is that if we look again at the Great Debates, we will understand where the Party went off course. Here I have in mind particularly the recent plays of Mikhail Shatrov. However, the implication that the Party merely went off course at some point in its history and could be brought back onto the true, Leninist course again is essentially the message of the earliest post-Stalin thaws under Khrushchev and seems a little dated today.

Most writers look back to Russian culture in the early twenties as to a golden age. Generally, this golden time has been crystallized in an emblematic figure: for instance, the cult of Anna Akhmatova as a sort of *mater dolorosa* of Stalinism and torchbearer of the Great Russian Cultural Tradition combined. She stands as a second term in a genealogy stretching from Pushkin and continuing with her heirs of the present day. This cult has reached such proportions in recent years that even in the many youth rock films a *topos* has emerged where the heroine proves her essential Russianness by leaving the scene of hard rock for a moment to gaze at the heavens or at her loved one and declaim from Akhmatova. When Akhmatova's 100th birthday was celebrated last year, the atmosphere of piety in the *Центральный дом литераторов* (*Main House of Literati*) was so heavy that when Bella Akhmadulina, one of the speakers, tried to introduce in her selection of readings a less saintly and canonical Akhmatova, the response was hostile.

This piety is essentially born of desperation. The intelligentsia, in seizing upon "the twenties," have, rather like Tynjanov and others during the actual twenties, essentially sought a place to go to illumine the dilemmas of the present. The early twenties have been idealized primarily not for their positive virtues so much as for being a time when "not yet..."—*not yet* was Gumilev shot, *not yet* was Khodasevich in emigration, and so on.

In the frantic search for such an emblematic bygone moment, most are looking *not* for a Golden Time or even for a Great Time to evaluate or a Great Debate to be rerun, but rather for an *originary* *moment* in a trajectory of *aberration*. We see today, in other words, no longer a Heldensuch, but more a Fehlersuch. This trajectory is frequently organized in a triad comprising the moment of fall, which allegedly leads to the Stalin years, which in turn lead to the moral quagmire of today. For many, the moment of fall is located in the twenties; most commonly, it is around the time of the Revolution, or alternately in 1929, the year of the Great Breakthrough [i.e.; when the cultural revolution, collectivization, rapid industrialization *and* the destruction of the churches were all forcibly implemented, cf. Vasilij Belov's *Год великого перелома* (*The Critical Year*)].

As writers seek to account for the fall, they have begun to invoke again the paradigm of the French Revolution. Now, however, rather than functioning as a nodal moment in a heroic progression, it is now presented as a cautionary example, the French Revolution has been used as a paradigm by figures from all ends of the historical spectrum. It was invoked, for instance, by Gavril Popov in "О пользе неравенства" ("About the Benefit of Inequality"), an article in *Литературная газета* (*Literaturnaja gazeta)* of October, 1989 which outlined his proposals for further perestroika. In a subsection entitled "Главный манёвр" ("The Main Manoeuvre") in which Popov wrote of the necessity of introducing the market in the Soviet Union, he warned against doing as they had done in revolutionary France and exerting tighter controls on economic transactions in an effort to reduce speculation and inflation. That, he maintained, proved to be the fatal move in the French Revolution which led straight to a more dictatorial political practice, and from there to the guillotine, to Napoleon's rise to power, and so on. In the Soviet Union, he contended, it would condemn the country to "Retake that familiar route from 1917 to 1937."[7]

The French Revolution has been used as a negative example by those on the right as well. For instance, in Igor Shafarevich's infamous essay "Russophobia" of late 1989, he laments Russia's disintegration from a society that was whole into one that is divided and has lost its way. He locates the moment when all this began in the preamble to the French Revolution when its *ideologues*, the *philosophes*, emerged. He identifies the *philosophes*, thinkers who rejected the religious basis of the culture of the French people, as a minority group or freethinking *малый народ* which thereby became alienated from a sort of moral majority or *большой народ* (incidentally, these are paradigmatic terms of the Stalin years).

Of course Popov, Shafarevich and others who invoke the French Revolution today are less concerned with the *actuality* of that event and more with the revolution as a metaphor. Since it was a favorite example of Marx and Lenin, it can function as a means to critique the Russian Revolution which, it was traditionally claimed, represented a more perfect realization of the form of revolution than had this earlier version.

The recent return of interest to the French Revolution after an absence of some decades is partly occasioned by its Bicentennial last year, but it is also symptomatic of a less ephemeral moment. Critiques of the French Revolution are part of a trend for dismantling 1917 as a sort of Berlin wall of Soviet historiography. It can be related, for instance, to the fanfare accorded the recent publication of works like Andrej Platonov's *Чевенгур* (*Chevengur)*, Evgenij Zamjatin's *Мы* (*We)* and George Orwell's *1984* as the ultimite critiques of Campanella's *The City of the Sun*. This dismantling of 1917 has freed intellectuals to find *their* 1917, that is, their originary moment which they have sought at points deeper in the past.

In this connection I view the Gorbachev thaw as having proceeded thus far in two phases, the first culminating in 1987 as a time intellectuals focused on the 1920s and '30s as *the* time which would illumine the present. But since then they have gone beyond 1917 to focus principally on some moment in the mid-nineteenth century [by mid-nineteenth, I mean the period from approximately the 1830s to the 1870s (note: Palevskij in "Классика и мы" ("We and the Classics") defines the classical period as from Pushkin to Chekhov)] as the time when the tradition of the intelligentsia was formed. Much of their effort, however, has been directed at dismantling the canonical account of the rise of the intelligentsia by, for instance, advancing Gogol's *Выбранные места из переписки с друзьями* (*Selections from Correspondence with Friends)* or Dostoevskij's *Дневник писателя* (*Diary of a Writer)* as the core of a new canon. Thus, for example, Vadim Kozhinov in the 1988 biography of Tjutchev advances the *любомудры* (*Wisdom Lovers*), a proto-slavophile group, as a positive foil to the Decembrists whom he subtly discredits. Again and again on the pages of the literary press, writers are redoing the old debates between Belinskij and Gogol as well as that other key exchange between Dostoevskij and Chernyshevskij.

All this seems strangely out of step in an age when rock and other forms of popular culture have been swept onto center stage.

And yet even in some of the most hard-nosed fiction of recent years, such as S. Kaledin's hyper-naturalist *Стройбат* (*Consruction Battalion)* of 1989 with its grim picture of theft, alcoholism, drugs and cynicism among the young recruits of the army, some novel by Dostoevskij has functioned as the point of orientation for the narrative [P'etsuch's *Новая московская философия* (*New Moscow Philosophy)* as a parodic foil using Dostoevskij's *Преступление и наказание* (*Crime and Punishment*)].

Thus Tynjanov and contemporaries in the twenties may have mapped 1825 onto 1925, but writers today seem to be mapping the late twentieth century onto the mid-nineteenth: "Вперёд, вперёд, Горбачёвский народ!" ("Ahead, ahead, Gorbachev's people!") While the heroes of recent American cinema have been going "Back to the Future," Soviet intellectuals today seem to be going "Forward to the Past." But then, are they *really* going to the past?

The heroic, formative time of the Russian intelligentsia (the mid-nineteenth century) essentially functions for them as a specular period, a period they can look into in their efforts to see themselves more clearly. Indeed, the fact that they have gone back so far in time is in a sense a marker of the intensity of the crisis they are experiencing.

Thomas Wolfe has told us that you cannot go home again, and the intellectuals of today cannot go "forward to the past." Today when scholars of television analyze a given show, they believe it should not be analyzed in isolation but in its "strip," that is in the context of the programs which come before and after it on its scheduled viewing time. It is instructive to make a similar analysis of the works by those Soviet intellectuals who write of the necessity to keep the heroic time of Russian literature and intellectual life as the centerpiece of all literary work today. Even such conservative journals as *Наш современник* (*Nash sovremennik)*, *Дон* (*Don),* and *Подьём* (*Pod'jom)* do not publish exclusively the works of their favorite sons, such as Rasputin, Likhonosov and Kunjaev and of *their* heroes such as Berdjaev, Kljuev and Klychkov. In a given issue, such authors rub shoulders with translations of Ellery Queen, Dashiell Hammett, Raymond Chandler, Georges Simenon and even that quintessential New York Jew, Norman Mailer. In other words, a conservative journal reads like an avant garde text.

This phenomenon cannot be accounted for entirely in terms of the need these journals feel to increase subscriptions by pandering to popular taste. Even the hard core right has shifted its position a little in recent years. One can sense this shift in the Kozhinov biography of Tjutchev in which he foregrounds the Russophiles' debt to German idealist philosophy. But it is most apparent not in the treatment of the past, of *time*, but in the iconology of *place*.

Whereas the деревенщики (derevenshchiki, or Village Prose writers) of the sixties and seventies, like the revolutionary zealots of the twenties, advanced an idealized, ahistorical place as their locus of value—in *their* case not the *The City of the Sun* but the quintessential village of Rus' with its river or lake, its banja and its church—today they have shifted attention to the provincial Russian town. This town is represented in their writings as a bastion against cultural centralization (read sovietization) and hence the bulwark of all that is truly Russian. But in the iconic characterization of the provincial town, new elements not found in the village are foregrounded, such as the local journals and printing presses, the local learned and cultural societies, and even the *ярмарка* (fair) as the place where the Russian artisan offered his variegated wares. Such a place, then, is no longer an emblem of Rus' but more, in the words of the subtitle of a recent novel by Likhonosov on Ekaterinodar, "Наш маленький Париж" ("Our little Paris").

Thus there has been a significant shift in conservative publications.

In these turbulent times little major *new* literature has emerged and journals are essentially still capitalizing on the old. But once the *past shock*—and the *present shock*—have worn off, we can assume that a new cultural tradition will emerge from a bricollage of today's bizarre offerings.

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[1] For a discussion of "reaccentuation," see M.M. Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel" in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 417-21.

[2] "Отчёт о деятельности Отдела изобразительных искусств Наркомпроса," *Изобразительное искусство*, № 1 (1919), с. 72.

[3] В.А. Теляковский, Директор Императорских театров, *Воспоминания 1898-1917* (Петерсбург: Время, 1924), с. 133.

[4] Maraian Sawer, "The Soviet Image of the Commune: Lenin and Beyond," in James A. Leith, ed., *Images of the Commune* (Montreal: McGill/ Queens University Press, 1978), p. 246.

[5] John Keep, "The Tyranny of Paris over Petrograd," *Soviet Studies*, vol. XX, no. 1 (July, 1968), p. 246.

[6] Е.В. Быстрянский [the editor of *Петроградская Правда* and a former writer of leaders for *Правда*], "Коммунизм и духовная жизнь," *Книга и революция*, № 5 (нояб. 1920), сс. 1-2.

[7] *Литературная газета*, № 40 (4 окт. 1989), с. 10.

The Proficiency Movement: Where Do We Go From Here?

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It would be no exaggeration to say that during the past decade, few areas in the second language teaching profession had not been affected by attempts to introduce a national metric based on demonstrated proficiency in the functional use of a foreign language and to define achievement in second language instruction in terms of functional ability rather than exposure time or control of specific grammatical and/or lexical features. The proficiency movement had such a wide impact because it represented not only an attempt to introduce a national metric but, most importantly, an attempt to modify the nature of the second language curriculum by pointing it in the direction of instruction in functional use of the second language. The list of languages affected by the proficiency movement is quite impressive. It includes the less commonly taught languages (Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Arabic), and the much less uncommonly taught languages (Hindi, Hebrew, Indonesian, Turkish, Swahili, Hausa and Lingala).

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In order to assess the impact of the proficiency movement on the teaching of Russian in the United States, it would be convenient to liken it to glasnost (the professional dialog associated with the proficiency movement as it concerns the teaching and learning of Russian) and perestroika (the actual restructuring of curricula and assessment along functional lines). As is the case in Gorbachev's Russian, glasnost so far has been much more successful than perestroika?

The proficiency movement was introduced into the Russian language teaching field at a historical stage in its development that was radically different from the stage characteristic of the more commonly taught languages. In French and Spanish, and to some extent in German, the dominant grammar-translation approach of the forties was replaced in the fifties by the audiolingual approach with its emphasis on oral practice. Gradual realization of the inadequacies of audiolingualism led to an adoption of other approaches and techniques (Communicative, Total Physical Response, Rassias, Silent Way, Community Counseling-Learning, Suggestopedia, etc.). The proficiency movement was able to capitalize on this eclecticism by suggesting an organizing principle for teaching and testing without dictating any specific approach. In other words, the proficiency movement was reasonably successful in Spanish, French, and German because, quite simply, it was able to use the building blocks that were already there.

The situation in Russian was quite different. By the mid-eighties, the dominant approach to teaching Russian was still grammar-translation. The Russian language teaching field engaged in but the briefest flirtation with audiolingualism with the publication of a purely audiolingual textbook *Modern Russian I, II* by Dawson and Humesky. At that time, most teachers did not know how to use it and the textbook was abandoned in favor of pure grammar-translation or audiolingually flavored grammar-translation textbooks—a situation that largely persists to this day. The problem is that audiolingual and post-audiolingual approaches focused attention on the development of oral-aural skills, whereas grammar-translation did not. It will be much harder for the proficiency movement to have an impact on the teaching of Russian because there is a lot of missing territory between grammar-translation and proficiency-based approaches.

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE ACTFL GENERIC GUIDELINES

The surge of interest in second language proficiency assessment followed a long history of activities aimed at assessing second language competence in the U.S. Government, which began in 1956 with the development of the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) Oral Proficiency Rating Scale. In 1973, the Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR), a committee comprised of representatives of government agencies and a number of other organizations concerned with second language teaching, testing, and research, assumed primary responsibility for the scale. Drawing on the collective experience of these organizations, the ILR Testing Committee worked on refining the government's definitions of proficiency in the four language skills. These descriptions of skill-levels are known as the ILR scale (Interagency Language Roundtable, 1985).

Interest in the ILR scale emerged in academia in the late 1970s due to dissatisfaction with the *status quo* stemming from a number of factors: a greater awareness on the part of both teachers and students of the latter's lack of language competence, improved opportunities to travel, live, and study abroad, increased familiarity with European functional-notional syllabi, and growth of interest in sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, conversational analysis, and discourse analysis. A reliable and valid standardized assessment instrument was felt to be highly desirable in order to more accurately place students in language courses, to institute proficiency standards for admission and graduating requirements, as well as for teacher certification, Teaching Assistant selection, faculty hiring and job placement.

In 1981, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) initiated activities to extend the language proficiency assessment movement beyond government and into academia. The initial projects involved the development of generic proficiency guidelines as well as language-specific proficiency guidelines for French, German and Spanish, in addition to training individuals to administer and evaluate oral proficiency tests in these languages. The generic set of guidelines, which came to be known as the *ACTFL Guidelines,* was designed to serve the academic learner who differs from the government learner in a number of important ways. The typical learner in the government setting is an adult in an intensive

program who has a utilitarian motive for studying a second language in order to meet job requirements in the target-language country. The academic learner, on the other hand, is an individual usually in the late teens or early twenties, who studies a foreign language for a few years in a non-intensive program as part of a more general education in the humanities. Consequently, the *ACTFL Guidelines* are more sensitive than the ILR scale at the lower levels of the proficiency since they provide three distinctions each at the ILR 0/0+ and 1/1+ levels. At the same time, the *ACTFL Guidelines* are less sensitive to distinctions at the upper levels since they collapse ILR speaking and writing levels 3, 3+, 4, 4+, and 5 under one omnibus designation of Superior.

THE RUSSIAN PROFICIENCY GUIDELINES

In 1983, ACTFL received support from the U.S. Department of Education to create language-specific proficiency statements for Chinese, Japanese and Russian. The availability of government testers to train the initial contingent of academic testers in Russian made it possible for a group of trained individuals to begin work on the Russian Guidelines in 1984.[1]

The adaptation of the generic *ACTFL Guidelines* to Russian was characterized by a conflict between the desire to make the level descriptions come to life through a variety of examples from Russian and the desire to preserve the global character of these descriptions. The process of adaptation was not without some uneasiness caused by the need for inclusion of references to features that are unique to Russian. In the end, the removal of references to specific structures in the revised *ACTFL Guidelines* of 1986 facilitated the subsequent revision of the Russian-specific guidelines because the committee no longer felt constrained by the imposition of developmental hierarchies for grammar features more characteristic of less inflected West European languages.

Although members of the Russian Guidelines committee had all been trained in the administration of the Oral Proficiency Interview and were all experienced teachers of Russian, they were somewhat uneasy about positing a developmental hierarchy of acquisition of grammatical discourse, sociolinguistic, and pragmatic features on the basis of observation and experience rather than pragmatic evidence. It was felt that the availability of large amounts of data from taped oral

interviews in Russian should provide the impetus for psycholinguistic research into characteristics of learner speech at different levels of proficiency, such as suggested by Byrnes (1987). The results of this research were to guide efforts to reexamine and reevaluate some of the statements in the current version of the Russian Guidelines with regard to various aspects of learner performance at different levels of proficiency. The danger of a cyclical effect in using interview data to validate oral proficiency interview traits had to be kept in mind, of course. Unfortunately, this type of research has failed to attract Russian specialists and remains undone.

Over the past several years, a number of researchers have criticized both the *Guidelines* and the OPI procedures. The most significant of these criticisms was that there had not been any validation of either the *Guidelines* or of the Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI), that the latter does not take into account test method effects and that trait and method are confounded in the design of the *Guidelines* and the OPI (Cachman and Savignon, 1986; Bachman, 1988). To address these concerns, ACTFL conducted an investigation of the construct validity of the *Guidelines* and the OPI procedure in English and French (Dandonoli and Henning, 1990).

The results of the study were quite encouraging since they indicated that with a few exceptions, there was adequate progression in the appropriate direction on the latent ability and difficulty continua associated with the skill-level descriptions provided in the *Guidelines*. In addition, the face validity of the *Guidelines* received support from high correlations that were obtained between oral proficiency ratings assigned by certified OPI testers and ratings assigned by untrained native speakers. In both English and French, all four skills assessed according to the *ACTFL Guidelines*, would be available in the three languages by the time the study got started. Unfortunately, such tests were not available at the time in the three languages for all levels in the four skills, and time and budget considerations did not permit extensive test development in all three languages. Because of available resources, ACTFL selected French and Spanish and dropped Russian. It seems clear that the next logical step would be to seek additional confirmation of the validity of the *Guidelines* for Russian.

To date, few Russian specialists have considered research questions associated with the Oral Proficiency Interview. To name just a few potentially fruitful areas of research: 1) How do various aspects of declarative knowledge (phonology, morphosyntax, lexicon) and procedural knowledge (communicative strategies) contribute to relative levels of interactive verbal ability? 2) What are the predictive and concurrent validities of the OPI for various types of decision-making? 3) What are the interrater reliabilities among ACTFL-trained testers and between ACTFL- and government-trained testers? 4) What is the convergent validity of tests for the four skills, based on the *ACTFL Guidelines*, in Russian?

PROFICIENCY TESTING

The first OPI workshop in Russian was offered in January 1984. Since that time, a total of 14 OPI Russian workshops have been conducted at various sites around the country attracting a total of 97 participants, 17 of whom have been certified as oral proficiency testers. In addition to tester-training workshops, numerous familiarization workshops have been offered on either an institutional or on a regional basis. It would be safe to say that the percentage of Russian teachers today, who have some familiarity with the Oral Proficiency Interview and the rating scale, is quite substantial.

Although the number of certified testers in Russian is quite small, it is hard to argue for significantly greater numbers because there is a greater need in most programs for functionally-oriented classroom tests of speaking ability than for true proficiency tests. Individuals who are familiar with the Oral Proficiency Interview elicitation techniques and principles of rating, whether certified or not, can be more helpful in designing, administrating, and rating proachievement tests at their institutions than those totally unfamiliar with the OPI. Viewed from this perspective, attendance at an OPI workshop which does not result in certification is still a valuable experience.

The availability of the *Guidelines* and the training of individuals in the administration and scoring of the OPI has not solved all our testing problems. In the first place, the OPI is one measure of only one skill. In the second place, all tests are designed for a certain purpose and for a specific population. The OPI, as any other test, may be valid for some purposes but not for others. Much of the current dissatisfaction with it arises from failure to maintain an awareness of its limitations. The *Guidelines* and the OPI were created to provide a

global sense of speaker performance at various stages of second language acquisition. Hence, the OPI is an extracurricular test which is inadequate for measuring specific outcomes in language courses. The *Guidelines* and the OPI are not only *not* sensitive enough to small increments in learning, but the assessment criteria embodied in them focuses both on what learners *can do* with the language and on what they *cannot yet do* in it.

The availability of a standardized measure of speaking ability that everyone could interpret in a uniform way has helped to draw attention to goals, standards, and accountability in Russian language teaching. It has encouraged teachers, administrators, funding agencies, and publishers to debate goals and criteria for language teaching as well as for materials construction. However, the most obvious contribution of the *Guidelines* and the OPI has been in curbing unrealistic expectations that teachers have for their instruction and that students have for themselves.

The tempting question "Where should my student be at the end of X semesters or years of instruction?" is unanswerable through the *Guidelines* themselves because the criteria embodied in them is extracurricular in nature, and the time required to reach a stated level of proficiency will vary from one individual to another and from instructional setting to instructional setting. This calls for caution in the use of proficiency ratings for placement, entrance, and exit criteria unless they are used in conjunction with other measures of progress, including functional tests based on a specific body of material covered in a stated course or program of instruction. The establishment of minimum standards based on proficiency levels should be done only after careful study of the curriculum, student factors, time constraints and institutional goals. At present, no data exists regarding the number of institutions that use proficiency ratings for placement, entry or exit criteria. This information is currently being collected by the National Foreign Language Center as part of the Russian language survey.

One of the problems with using the OPI as an on-going assessment device is the exponential nature of the rating scale. Although most students make rapid progress through the Novice level, they reach a rather obvious plateau at the Intermediate Level which often extends over several years of non-intensive instruction. Repeated use of the OPI throughout a period corresponding to a flattened acquisition curve may be counterproductive and

disheartening to many students who feel that their hard work produces but meagre results. Yet, a great deal of learning does actually take place during this time—learning which could be easily detected by measures which are sensitive to subtle changes in performance over relatively short periods of study.

Proficiency testing is often done on a one-shot basis with little or no follow-up. When testing large numbers of students the teacher/tester rarely has the opportunity to return to the test and use it for diagnostic purposes—a very time-consuming and labor-intensive procedure, which, in order to be practical, must involve teachers and students working together at the mutual task of diagnosis and repair. Fortunately, the OPI is not the only source of data on oral performance. Such data can be collected through typed reports, discussions, debates, and conversations which students do as part of their homework, as well as recorded conversation samples from paired and small group work. Most importantly, however, the OPI can provide a convenient format for administering speaking tests based on topics and functions specifically covered in a given course.

The OPI may not be practical in many testing situations since it requires a trained tester and must be administered on an individual basis. Semi-direct oral proficiency tests may provide an acceptable substitute in many cases when the OPI is not practical or possible. Research shows that the results obtained by means of semi-direct oral proficiency tests correlate highly with the face-to-face Oral Proficiency Interview (Clark and Li, 1986; Stansfield and Kenyon, 1989). Semi-direct tests offer a number of advantages over the OPI: they can be group administered anywhere since a trained interviewer is not required; institutional versions of semi-direct tests may be developed to help standardize assessment of oral skills in courses with multiple sections; it is easier to train teachers or teaching assistants to score speech samples elicited in a highly standardized way by a semi-direct test than to teach them how to elicit speech samples in a reliably uniform way.

The ETS Comprehensive Russian Proficiency Test (for ACTFL levels Novice through Intermediate High), which has become available to schools and colleges in the Fall of 1990, includes a semi-direct test of speaking ability which will have to be scored by individual institutions. An experimental scoring of the speaking and writing portions of the test held at Bryn Mawr College with the 1989 NEH Institute participants, who were generally familiar with the

ACTFL scale, proved that after a brief training session, teachers were able to reliably score speech samples using the ACTFL scale. Semi-direct speaking tests are particularly appropriate for Slavic languages, other than Russian, for which ACTFL-trained interviewers are not available. Considering the fast pace of events in Eastern Europe, the development of semi-direct tests of oral skills for these languages should be a high priority for the 1990s.

PROFICIENCY AND THE FOUR SKILLS

In the public imagination, the concept of proficiency has been largely coupled with speaking skills as a result of a 30-year tradition. But oral skills are only one communicative modality because language proficiency can only be defined with reference to a particular skill, and proficiency in one modality does not fully guarantee equal proficiency in another. It is well known that language learners are generally able to understand more than they can produce. For instance, learners of Spanish and French in a government school showed higher scores in listening than in speaking (Lowe, 1985). This discrepancy was strongest at the more advanced levels and practically nonexistent at the lower ones, and greater in Spanish than in French. It is quite possible that a "comprehension advantage" is even smaller in Russian because of lesser numbers of readily recognizable cognates as well as lack of readily transferable background knowledge.

The receptive skills too may develop each at its own pace. For instance, the norming of the *ETS Advanced Russian Listening/Reading Test* showed that among 500 participating students, who had at least three years of college-level Russian, the level of proficiency in listening was generally lower than that in reading. Table 1 below shows the percentage of students who achieved ACTFL Advanced level or higher in listening and reading after three, four, and five years of study.

Table 1

Percent of learners who scored above ACTFL Advanced
on the ETS Advanced Russian Listening/Reading Test

Years of Study	Listening	Reading
3	4	16
4	22	50
5	33	74

Differences in the development of listening and reading skills are also evident in the raw scores obtained during the field testing of the Listening and Reading sections of the *ETS Comprehensive Russian Proficiency Test.* For instance, after four years of study, 31% of the college test takers (N=197) achieved the Advanced level in listening as compared to 55% in reading. The difference was far smaller among the high school test takers due to a ceiling effect (8% in listening, 12% in reading).

Acknowledgement of the separability of the four modalities implies the need to examine goals and objectives for each one. Although in theory, most existing Russian textbooks profess a four-skills approach, in practice, however, the four skills are often a mere pretext for presenting and practicing grammar. To quote Galloway (1987): "A far too real scenario is evoked by the student who rises from the ranks of basal-level instruction, steps fitfully across the bridge of the conversation and/or composition course, and enters the 'upper division'—a place where one reads literature whether or not one has learned to read." One of the strongest implications of a proficiency-based approach to foreign language instruction is the gearing of classroom activities to the development of specific usable skills in the four modalities in a manner that reflects their domain. A modality-specific approach to teaching calls for a modality-specific testing program which makes it unacceptable to assess general language ability through a pencil-and-paper test of grammar and vocabulary.

PROFICIENCY-BASED TEXTBOOKS

Since 1986, a number of Russian instructional workshops have been offered by individual schools, colleges and universities, local departments of education and professional organizations. In addition, a 5-week summer workshop at Middlebury College in 1988, and three consecutive summer NEH-funded Institutes (1987-89), three ACTR-Ford Institutes (1990-1993) have given many Russian teachers an opportunity to critically examine the assumptions underlying a variety of popular foreign language methodologies and approaches as well as a chance to enrich and replenish their repertoire of classroom techniques for teaching usable skills in the four modalities.

When these enthusiastic and dedicated language teachers return to their classrooms determined to make changes, they face the formidable task of creating new materials to supplement or replace their woefully outdated textbooks. With many other conflicting pressures competing for their time even the most determined teachers will be unable to sustain their enthusiasm for change for too long. The impact of instructional workshops and institutes will be short-lived unless a major effort is made to develop instructional materials supportive of a communicative approach to teaching Russian. This effort is under way with the on-going development of the high school series *Лицом к лицу* (*Face to Face*).

There is little doubt that the proficiency movement had a significant impact on the textbook development effort in the commonly taught languages. The past three years saw the publication of a substantial number of communicatively-based textbooks in Spanish, French and German. These textbooks are usually accompanied by workbooks which, in addition to skill-getting activities (various types of grammatical and lexical drills and exercises) contain a rich selection of meaningful, contextualized, task-based skill-using activities aimed at the development of usable skills in the four modalities. Laboratory tapes include not only substitution drills, but listening comprehension exercises using authentic or semi-authentic listening passages. Reading is practiced not only as a support skill, but as a skill in its own right using information-gathering techniques and authentic passages at appropriate difficulty levels. Teachers' manuals include sample lesson plans, as well as a variety of ideas for additional skill-using activities. A teacher of Russian, who examines textbooks in the commonly taught languages at book exhibits during the ACTFL or the Northeast Conference, knows exactly how Gorbachev felt during a visit to the silicone valley of California or how Soviet agricultural experts feel when they visit a farm in the American Midwest. Thus, the highest priority for the 1990s is the development of comprehensive high school and college textbooks and ancillary materials to support a functional curriculum for beginning, intermediate and advanced levels of instruction.

A LOOK INTO THE FUTURE

It is too early to predict whether the proficiency movement will bring about a significant change in the teaching of Russian in the United States. So far, it has provided a much needed impetus for reexamining instructional goals, practices and materials. This is a step in the right direction. However, proficiency-oriented teaching and testing are only links in the overall instructional chain. There are many dedicated and effective teachers whose efforts are frustrated by the organization of foreign language instruction that limits their effectiveness. Therefore, the development and implementation of more contemporary communicatively-based materials and methodologies will have an impact only in conjunction with an overall reappraisal of language instruction, i.e. with nothing short of perestroika of the entire language curriculum.

In our formal educational system, language learning is not related to functional language use later in life even though some instructors do teach usable skills and some students do actually acquire them. Instead, foreign language instruction is viewed as a means for developing an understanding of other countries and their cultures, or simply as just another way of teaching humanities. Such diffuse goals make it difficult, if not totally impossible, to design and implement functionally-oriented language programs.

Reaching a usable level of skill in a foreign language requires a long-term effort. Yet the severe limitations on time allotted for language study within the formal educational system mitigate against the acquisition of language skills that could be professionally applied upon graduation. In fact, learners rarely stick with a foreign language long enough to acquire even the most minimal functional ability in it. Enrollment statistics speak for themselves. Only about 60% of high school students go on to the second level in French, Spanish or German, and only 21% go on to the third level (Fetters and Owings, 1984). The situation is hardly better on college campuses, where only about 50% of the students take any foreign language with only 30% of them taking the equivalent of two years of a foreign language and only 15% enrolled in upper division language classes (Lambert, 1989).

Further attrition is caused by discontinuities between high school and college instruction: students are often excused from taking language courses in college instead of being encouraged to build on

previous training. Lambert (1989) reports, for instance, that only 68% of 400 universities and 40% of colleges covered in his national survey have a language requirement for some students. The MLA survey of 1989 shows that only 25.8% of colleges and universities surveyed had an entrance requirement in 1987-88 (as opposed to 33.6% in 1965-66 and 14.1% in 1982-83). Only 58.1% of these institutions had an exit requirement (as opposed to 88.9% in 1965-66 and 47.4% in 1982-83).

Higgs (1985) calculated that the total amount of language exposure given to college foreign language majors is an equivalent of one month of exposure to the language in a natural setting. The amount of proficiency that can be expected under these time constraints is clearly minimal. The results of Carroll's (1967) study are confirmed by more recent data from pre-program OPI testing by ACTR-[*Editor's note: see article by Brecht, Davidson and Ginsberg elsewhere in this collection*] which indicates that the great majority of students, who had an equivalent of three years of college Russian, rarely demonstrate speaking ability above the ACTFL intermediate range.

Thus the formal educational system is characterized by predominance of low-level students enrolled in programs with non-use oriented goals. Add to it the unrealistic expectation for linguistic miracles on the part of students, parents, administrators, and professors in upper division literature courses, who expect students to become fluent speakers and readers after only two years of non-intensive language study. This will continue to make the job of foreign language teachers, no matter how effective and dedicated, extremely difficult even if they embrace a proficiency-based approach. Therefore, one should not expect the proficiency movement to be yet another cure-all for the low attainments of our foreign language students. A host of measures, some more methodologically-based, others more nearly policy-based, will have to be put into effect if the proficiency movement is to bring about a true perestroika.

Suggestions for such measures include:

1. Increased language exposure at both high school and college levels that include longer and more intensive contact with the language. This calls for longer instructional sequences and for better coordination between high schools and colleges, as well as between institutions of higher learning and the government/private sector.

2. Replication in the classroom of those features of natural settings that promote and enhance language acquisition, utilizing materials and techniques that stress functional use of language in the four skills.

3. Additional secondary level programs that would include foreign language camps, weekend retreats, and intensive summer study in magnet schools.

4. Well-organized study-abroad programs for high school and college students that focus on increasing language proficiency and which are integrated with domestic training. This calls on institutions to make provision for students returning from abroad to use their increased language skills.

5. Training of top quality teachers and foreign language researchers to meet Russian language needs. This requires increased opportunities to study in the USSR as well as a restructuring of some Russian graduate programs to include a second language acquisition/second language education option in addition to literature and linguistics.

6. Development of textbooks, authentic reading and listening materials, and of a rich variety of ancillary materials to support functionally-directed instruction at all levels of ability.

SUMMARY

This paper examined proficiency-related developments in the teaching and testing of Russian during the decade of the eighties. It was suggested that the organization of language teaching in America mitigates against the acquisition of usable skills by imposing severe limitations on time allotted to the study of foreign languages as well as by adopting a non-use orientation. As a result, the introduction of proficiency concepts into Russian language teaching and testing can have an impact only on how time is spent in the classroom but cannot solve the problem of insufficient time.

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[1] The Russian Guidelines Committee was composed of Thomas Beyer (Middlebury College), Dan Davidson (Bryn Mawr College), Irene Thompson (The George Washington University), Gerald Ervin (The Ohio State University) and Donald Jarvis (Brigham Young University). The revision Committee had two members, Thomas Beyer and Irene Thompson.

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On Evaluating Language Proficiency Gain in Study Abroad Environments:

An Empirical Study of American Students of Russian

(A Preliminary Analysis of Data)

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Dan E. Davidson, ACTR and Bryn Mawr College
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0. Introduction

The present study constitutes a preliminary report on a long-term empirical investigation of advanced language acquisition in a study-abroad environment. The report consists of four parts: Section One sketches the broad context of cognitive research which has motivated and guided this study. Section Two describes the project itself, its scope, methodology, goals, and the specific variables examined. Section Three contains the analysis of the data, and Section Four offers a preliminary discussion of these results.

This paper was presented in Russian at the VII International Congress of MAPRIAL, Moscow, August, 1990.

The project has been funded by the United States Department of Education with the collaboration and support of the American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR) and the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC). It is based on an ACTR longitudinal study of the gains in Russian language competence demonstrated by American students in semester-long language programs in Moscow and Leningrad.[1]

1.0 Guiding Principles

The long-range, empirical study of the "value added" by immersion experience in a study-abroad environment is a central element in the second language acquisition research agenda. Empirical in its approach and anchored within the research agenda of contemporary cognitive science, the study has implications for foreign language and international studies policy.

1.1 Policy Ramifications of Empirical Research

Whether charged with starting a new program or evaluating and revising an existing one, whether making sweeping curricular changes or deciding on a specific course offering for a particular semester, program directors and foreign language administrators at all levels frequently set and implement policy.

Wherever possible, foreign language training policy should be formulated and guided by empirical research on second language acquisition.[2] The following questions exemplify the kinds of issues policymakers may address to the research community:

- What adjustments should be made between domestic and study-abroad learning, between beginning and advanced level learning?
- What is the best and most cost-effective study-abroad program? How can a program be evaluated?

- Should students be advised of probabilities of their success in a study-abroad program?
- Should programs abroad be adjusted to accommodate different types of students: majors vs. non-majors, literature/linguistics vs. areas studies majors, humanities vs. science majors? If so, at what level of acquisition should "language for special purposes" be undertaken?
- Should the study-abroad experience be an obligatory part of an undergraduate FL program, and where in the program does it most appropriately fit?
- Is study-abroad more or less cost-effective than domestic instruction?
- Is the process of foreign language acquisition in an in-country immersion environment different from domestic classroom instruction, and how is it different?[3]
- What level of proficiency is expected of students finishing a study-abroad program? Beginning a program?
- Are the structured, semi-structured, and unstructured environments organized, supported, and interrelated?
- Do testing and evaluation adequately reflect the skills acquired abroad?

These questions represent only a sample of the kinds of information required by program advisors and policymakers. Although researchers cannot provide definitive answers to many of the above questions, the present study is pertinent to several of them.

1.2 The Research Agenda for Second Language Acquisition (SLA)

While policy questions affect the need for research on study abroad, our scientific concern is to provide empirical evidence for the efficacy of this mode of language acquisition. Our general approach is grounded in the relatively new and developing fields of SLA and "cognitive science," an amalgam of related concerns in psychology, computer science, linguistics, philosophy, and neuroscience. The research agenda for SLA is still evolving, just as it is for cognitive science as a whole,[4] and is concerned with the nature of knowledge of L2 (declarative and procedural) and the nature of learning. Given that the dependent variable of the present study is a measurement of gain derived from pre-and post-program psychometric instruments, the research presented here is best viewed from the perspective of learning as a process of input, internal processing, and output.[5] A general overview of SLA is presented in Exhibit One.

The variables in the present study are concerned with input (beginning level of L2 knowledge and learner differences) and output (post-program assessment of L2 knowledge). Exhibit One makes clear, though, that there is much more to be measured in input, particularly the contexts of learning and the language used and heard, and much to be investigated with regard to the psychological and cognitive factors involved in the learning process itself.

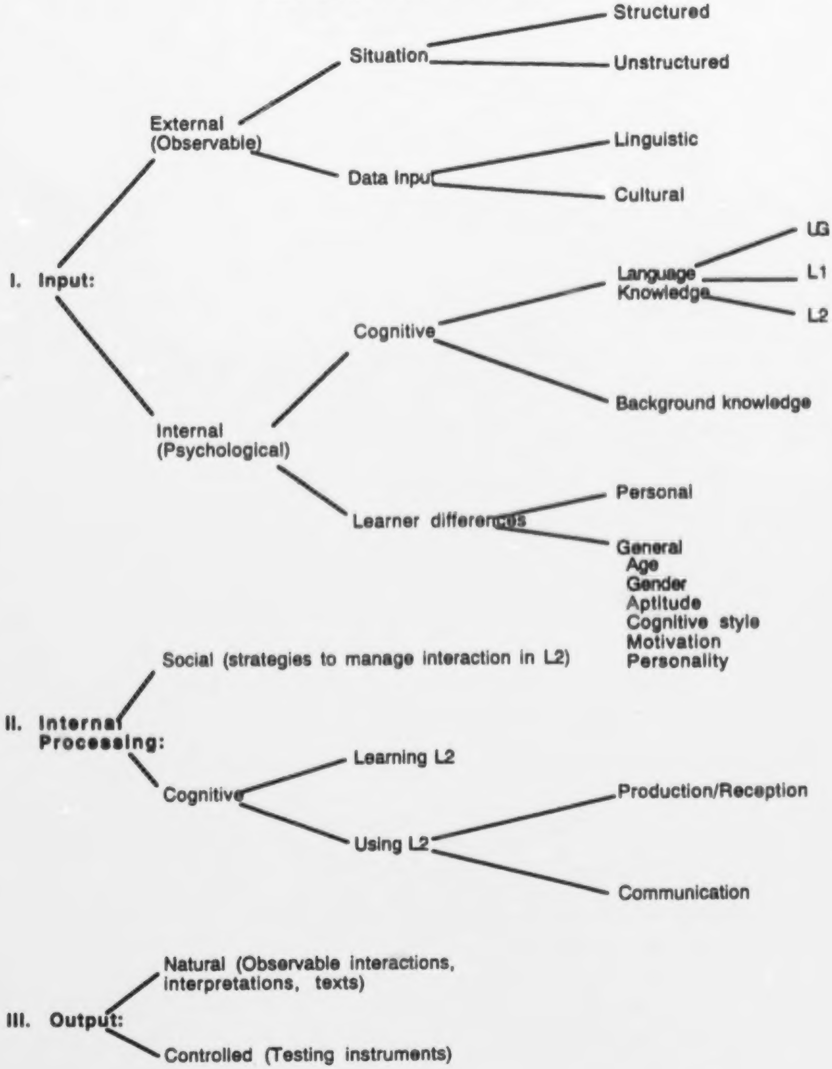
2. The ACTR/NFLC Project

The goal of the ACTR/NFLC project is the determination of factors which correlate with "gain" in Russian language ability as a result of long-term study in the Soviet Union.[6] The data bank serving as the base of this study was established by ACTR, an organization which, as a part of its overall professional mission, executes the largest academic exchange program between the Soviet Union and the United States (see Exhibit Two). For 15 years, records of university students studying Russian for one semester in, at present, eight Soviet institutes in Moscow and Leningrad have been systematically converted to machine readable form using a modified form of the "Paradox" data base system. Records include the material on the student application forms, data gathered in the regular common briefing and debriefing sessions, transcripts from Soviet institutes, and reports from ACTR academic program officers in the Soviet Union.

From the beginning, the data collected by ACTR has not been limited to that needed for executing the exchanges; rather, academic

policy ramifications were always a consideration.[7] The present project was designed, first, to establish the basis for determining the success of a program with regard to quality and cost-effectiveness and to evaluate existing programs; second, to improve program design, implementation, and cost-effectiveness; third, to determine the best predictors of success in a language learning career, particularly at the more advanced levels, with the ultimate goal of selection and placement of students in specific programs. A further goal was added to the present USED-funded project, that is to establish and make available to different (particularly less-commonly taught) languages a model for the collection of empirical data on SLA.

Exhibit One
An Overview of SLA


Structured
Situation
Unstructured
External (Observable)
Linguistic
Data Input
Cultural
LG
Language Knowledge
L1
L2
I. Input:
Cognitive
Background knowledge
Internal (Psychological)
Personal
Learner differences
General
Age
Gender
Aptitude
Cognitive style
Motivation
Personality
Social (strategies to manage interaction in L2)
II. Internal Processing:
Learning L2
Cognitive
Production/Reception
Using L2
Communication
Natural (Observable interactions, interpretations, texts)
III. Output:
Controlled (Testing instruments)

2.1 Classification of Variables

The starting point for this study is the output, specifically the measurement of L2 "gain," by American students in a number of ACTR-affiliated institutions in Moscow and Leningrad. Since 1976, ACTR has maintained records pertaining to the general academic, biographical, and in-country language performance of more than two thousand American students and graduate students who have completed long-term language training programs in the USSR under ACTR auspices. During most of the recording period, participants have typically been at the B.A. or immediate post-B.A. level, 22.2 years of age, with undergraduate major or equivalent preparation in Russian language and area studies, with or without other academic specializations. Due to previous limitations imposed by the Soviet government on the number of Americans permitted to study in the USSR, competition in the US for places in the ACTR programs was keen with as many as 4-6 qualified Russian majors or graduate students in the field applying for each position abroad. The resulting escalation of *de facto* qualifying standards worked to the advantage of students from institutions with intensive summer training and considerable advanced-level formal course work (competency-based language courses beyond the third-year college level), effectively limiting to a significant degree the number of participants from smaller Russian departments throughout the US.[8]

A steady increase in the number of positions for study in the USSR since 1985 (from 110 persons in 1984-85 to 520 persons in 1989-1990) has been accompanied by a doubling in the number of sending institutions in the US, reflecting a greater diversity of institutional types and geography than was the case in earlier years. At the present time a total of 195 colleges and universities have placed students or faculty in the ACTR programs. Exhibit Two lists American Colleges and Universities arranged in order of the number of students placed in ACTR long-term (primarily semester) programs between 1976 and 1989. In the case of participants who have either graduated or received their training at more than one institution, the current or most recent institutional affiliation is cited. The listing reveals a range of geographically diverse public and private institutions including small colleges and large comprehensive universities. A diversity of types of Russian language training programs are represented among the top 65 institutions, no one of which accounts for more than six percent of the total ACTR data base.

The six-year sample selected for analysis in the present study includes background data on age, gender, citizenship, country of birth, place and levels of formal education (including highest degree taken), major field(s), and information on all prior training in the Russian language, including number of contact hours, prior experience abroad, experience in intensive stateside courses, secondary school programs, language laboratory, and knowledge of other Slavic and non-Slavic languages. Also included in the data base for each student record is the academic year and type of program completed (summer, semester, academic year) and host institution in the USSR. (See Exhibit Three: ACTR Student Record System Semester Program Data Directory, 1984-89).

Pre- and post-program standardized tests include (since 1984) oral proficiency interviews (OPI) administered by ACTFL or government-certified specialists trained in the elicitation of Russian speech samples rateable in terms of a common five-point metric of functional competency in the language (see Exhibit Four). Pre- and post-program OPI testing is normally recorded on audio cassettes, and, in certain cases, has been subjected to reconfirmation by additional certified testers. Comparable proficiency-based standardized testing for reading and listening in Russian was developed by the Educational Testing Service (ETS) in cooperation with the Russian language teaching field and introduced in the mid-1980s. Available in two forms and administered under secure and controlled conditions, these standardized tests are machine-graded and reported regularly by ETS directly to ACTR where they are added to the student records data base both as weighted raw scores and as proficiency-rating conversions, pre- and post-program, for all participants.

Exhibit Two

College and University Participation in ACTR Programs

Top 65 Colleges Arranged by Number of ACTR Program Participants
Semester Programs 1976-89

Academic Affiliation	Number of Program Participants
Bryn Mawr College	68
Harvard University	60
Pennsylvania, University of	50
Columbia University	41
Georgetown University	37
Yale University	36
Grinnell College	31
Iowa, University of	30
Northwestern University	30
Wesleyan University	30
Michigan, University of	29
Amherst College	26
Brown University	25
Maryland, University of — College Park	23
Indiana University	21
Oregon, University of	21
Princeton University	20
George Washington University	18
California, University of — Berkeley	18
Williams College	17
Texas, University of — Austin	17
Cornell University	15
Illinois, University of — Urbana	14
Haverford College	13
Middlebury College	13
Wisconsin, University of	13
Virginia, University of	13
Bowdoin College	13
Chicago, University of	12
California, University of — Santa Cruz	12
Stanford University	12
Brigham Young University	11
Carleton College	10
Swarthmore College	9
Washington, University of	9
New Hampshire, University of	8
Reed College	8
Trinity College — Connecticut	8
California, University of — Davis	8
George Mason University	8
California, University of — Los Angeles	8
Minnesota, University of	7
Principia College	7
Vermont, University of	7
Mount Holyoke College	7
Trinity University	7
James Madison University	7
New York University	7
Dartmouth College	7
Wellesley College	6
Maryland, University of — Baltimore County	6
Massachusetts, University of — Amherst	6
Vanderbilt University	6
American University	6
New Mexico, University of	5
North Carolina, University of — Chapel Hill	5
North Iowa, University of	5
Tufts University	5
Monterey Institute of International Studies	5
Oklahoma State University	5
Pomona College	5
Illinois, University of — Chicago	5
Arizona, University of	5
Rutgers University — Rutgers College	5
Barnard College	5
100 Other Colleges and Universities	*198*
Total	*1195*

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Exhibit Three

ACTR Student Record System

Semester Program Data Only, 1984-89

Data Dictionary — Listing of Student Record Fields Recoded and Transferred

Field Name	Range	Descriptive Note
Program Year	1984-89	Total of 466 students ranging over 6 years
Program Type		Semester program students in Fall or Spring
Highest Degree	1-4	See Code Listing Report
Major of Highest Degree	1-6	See Code Listing Report 1 = Russian...
Study Institute	1-6	See Code Listing Report 1 = Pushkin...
Date of Birth		
Age	17-38	Assessed as age at application
Sex	1-2	1 = Female, 2 = Male
Country of Birth	1, 2, 3, 5	1 = USA, 2 = Canada, 3 = Europe, 5 = Other
Years High School Russian		
Years College Russian	0-9	
Total Class Hours/Week	0-152	Sum of hours per semester
Total Lab Hours/Week		Sum of hours per semester
Number of Slavic Languages	0-1	Number of other Slavic languages studied
Number of Non-Slavic Lang.	0-6	Number of non-Slavic languages studied
Number of Prev. USSR Immr	0-3	Number of immersion studies in Soviet Union
MLAT III	Continuous	Modern Language Aptitude Test Section
MLAT IV	Continuous	Modern Language Aptitude Test Section
MLAT V	Continuous	Modern Language Aptitude Test Section
MLAT Short Form Raw	Continuous	MLAT III + MLAT IV + MLAT V
Qualify Grammar	Continuous	Number right/Base
Qualify Reading	Continuous	Number right/Base
Pre-ETS Listening	Continuous	Current ETS tests begun in 1986
Pre-ETS List Profic	to 40, 03-07	01 = 0, 02 = 0+, 03 = 1, 04 = 1+, 05 = 2, 06 = 2+, 07 = 3
Post-ETS Listening	Continuous	
Post-ETS List Profic	01-07	01 = 0, 02 = 0+, 03 = 1, 04 = 1+, 05 = 2, 06 = 2+, 07 = 3
ETS Listening Change	Continuous	Difference in Post-Pre plus 100
Pre-ETS Reading	Continuous	
Pre-ETS Read Profic	01-07	01 = 0, 02 = 0+, 03 = 1, 04 = 1+, 05 = 2, 06 = 2+, 07 = 3
Post-ETS Reading	Continuous	
Post-ETS Read Profic	01-07	01 = 0, 02 = 0+, 03 = 1, 04 = 1+, 05 = 2, 06 = 2+, 07 = 3
ETS Reading Change	Continuous	Difference in Post-Pre plus 100
Pre-Oral Proficiency	01-07	01 = 0, 02 = 0+, 03 = 1, 04 = 1+, 05 = 2, 06 = 2+, 07 = 3
Post-Oral Proficiency	01-07	01 = 0, 02 = 0+, 03 = 1, 04 = 1+, 05 = 2, 06 = 2+, 07 = 3
Intellectual Motivation	0-5	Director's Evaluation 0 = Low, 5 = High
Natural Ability to Learn	0-5	Director's Evaluation 0 = Low, 5 = High
Willingness—Use Russian	0-5	Director's Evaluation 0 = Low, 5 = High
Cultural Adaptability	0-5	Director's Evaluation 0 = Low, 5 = High
Willingness—Cultural Opp.	0-5	Director's Evaluation 0 = Low, 5 = High
Ability to work in group	0-5	Director's Evaluation 0 = Low, 5 = High
Leadership Potential	0-5	Director's Evaluation 0 = Low, 5 = High

Records filtered by the three following rules:

Student age at application must be less than 40 years.
Student must not be born in Slavic speaking country.
Student must not speak more than one other Slavic language.

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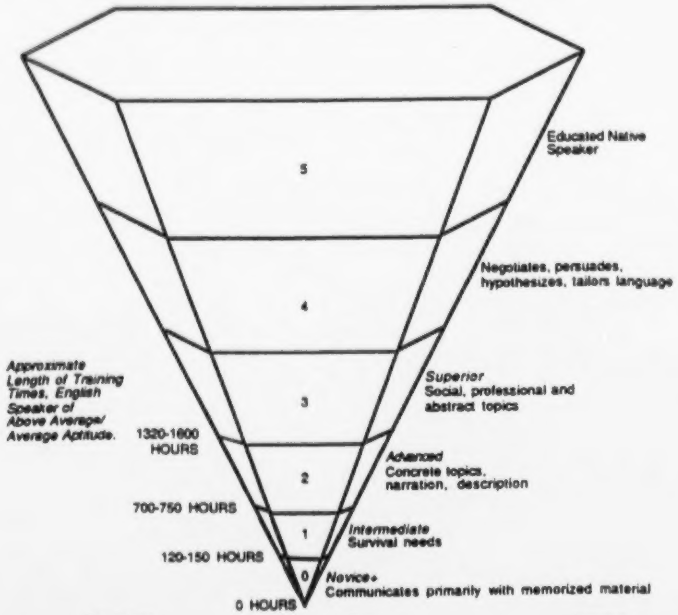
Exhibit Four

Inverted Pyramid of Language Proficiency, and Functional Tri-Section for Speaking


Educated Native Speaker
5
Negotiates, persuades, hypothesizes, tailors language
4
Approximate Length of Training Times, English Speaker of Above Average/ Average Aptitude.
Superior
Social, professional and abstract topics
3
1320-1600 HOURS
Advanced
Concrete topics, narration, description
2
700-750 HOURS
Intermediate
Survival needs
1
120-150 HOURS
0
Novice+
Communicates primarily with memorized material
0 HOURS

Level	Functions	Content	Accuracy
Speaking Level	Task accomplished, attitudes expressed, tone conveyed.	Topics, subject areas, activities, and jobs addressed.	Acceptability, quality, and accuracy of message conveyed.
5	Functions equivalent to an Educated Native Speaker (ENS).	All subjects.	Performance equivalent to Educated Native Speaker.
4	Able to tailor language to fit audience, counsel, persuade, negotiate, represent a point of view, and interpret for dignitaries.	All topics normally pertinent to professional needs.	Nearly equivalent to ENS. Speech is extensive, precise, appropriate to every occasion with only occasional errors.
3	Can converse in formal and informal situations, resolve problem situations, deal with unfamiliar topics, provide explanations, describe in detail, support opinions, and hypothesize.	Practical, social, professional, and abstract topics, particular interests, and special fields of competence.	Errors never interfere with understanding and rarely disturb the ENS. Only sporadic errors in basic structures.
2	Able to fully participate in casual conversations; can express facts; give instructions; describe, report on, and provide narration about current, past, and future activities.	Concrete topics such as own background, family, and interests, work travel, and current events.	Understandable to NS *not* used to dealing with foreigners; sometimes miscommunicates.
1	Can create with the language; ask and answer questions, participate in short conversations.	Everyday survival topics and courtesy requirements.	Intelligible to an NS used to dealing with foreigners.
0	No functional ability.	None.	Unintelligible.

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Pre-program levels of language are also reflected in predictor variables based on standardized qualifying examinations in Russian grammar and reading comprehension (Q-Grammar, Q-Reading), required of all program applicants. A further series of variables reflect results of the Modern Language Aptitude Test (MLAT). Separate scores on analytic, synthetic, and memory-based learning strategies (MLAT III, IV, V), are recorded along with an aggregate raw score, which can be compared as percentile to one of several norm groups consisting of US high school graduates, enlisted servicemen, or US foreign service officers. MLAT test results are based on the success with which candidates manipulate samples of an artificial language ("pseudo-Kurdish") and of English; the long-form MLAT (not included in the present data) also includes listening and alphabet mastery strategies.

In addition to the batteries of pre- and post-program testing noted above, other post-program performance variables include grade reports on spoken and written Russian provided by each of the Soviet institutions (on a scale of 1 "failure" to 5 "excellent") and a series of individualized attitudinal assessments, as rated by ACTR resident directors using a scale of 1 (low) to 5 (high), in the categories of "intellectual motivation," "natural ability to learn," "willingness to use Russian," "cultural adaptability," "willingness to take advantage of in-country cultural opportunities," "ability to work in a group," and "leadership potential." It is understood by the investigators and program administrators that the attitudinal assessments are subjective, but nonetheless, such evaluations, like course grading, are a routine part of the assessment process in American higher education and are typical of the kinds of evaluations required annually of university faculty in recommending candidates for graduate and professional schools.

2.2 The Pre-/Post-Listening and Reading Tests

Four 50-minutes tests (two forms each for reading and listening) are designed to be reliable as measures of reading and listening comprehension in the intermediate/high to superior range (1+ to 3 levels). Stimulus material in both sets of tests is drawn from a variety of natural language use (authentic) sources, relying in

particular on materials taken from the mass media. Reading passages are printed texts in Russian, ranging from short passages to assess extraction of factual information, to larger texts designed to measure comprehension and analysis. Listening passages, administered by means of a tape recording, contain material in Russian spoken by both males and females at normal speed, such as news broadcasts, interviews, and conversations. The testing format is multiple-choice with responses recorded on a separate machine-gradeable answer sheet. All questions are printed in the test booklets and are based on information presented in the stimulus material itself. Specific subject matter knowledge is not tested; for example, there are no questions that bear on literary criticism, linguistic terminology, or, say, statistical analysis. Task assignments are stated in English prior to each Russian passage, so that the examinee knows in each case his/her purpose in listening/reading the text. The overall format is typical of standardized testing in the US and very familiar to American students.

Whereas the boundary points between proficiency levels in both forms of the ETS Russian readings tests are the same, Form 2 of the listening comprehension is more difficult than Form 1, resulting in an adjustment in the weighing of raw scores:[9]

ETS Listening	Raw Score	Raw Score
Proficiency Level	Form 1	Form 2
3	44 - 57	43 - 57
2+	41 - 43	39 - 42
2	37 - 40	33 - 38
1+	31 - 36	27 - 32

2.3 The Pre- and Post-Program Oral Proficiency Interviews[10]

The OPI is a testing procedure designed to measure a wide range of functional speaking abilities from novice ("0") to that of an educated native speaker ("5"). In the course of the interview, the student converses with one or two trained testers on a variety of topics for 10 to 40 minutes, depending on the level of the student's proficiency. The resulting speech sample, which is normally recorded on audio or video tape for subsequent verification or analysis, is then rated on a scale ranging from 0 (no practical functional ability in the language) to 5 (ability equivalent to that of a well-educated native speaker). "Plus" ratings (0+, 1+, 2+, 3+ etc.) are given to students who substantially surpass the requirements for a given level but fail to sustain performance at the next higher level. The rating is a single global indicator of the learner's probable ability to communicate in the target language/culture from the point of view of language functions, context/content areas, and acceptable levels of grammatical accuracy (Refer to Exhibit Four, the Functional Tri-Section for Speaking). As contrasted with an achievement test, which is based on specific material covered in a particular course of study, the proficiency test compares the student's ability to that of an educated native speaker using the language for actual communicative purposes.

The OPI was originally developed by the Foreign Service Institute (U.S. Department of State) as a means of verifying the foreign language skills of diplomats abroad. It was later adopted by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages and the Educational Testing Service for use in the American educational system, where it has received broad acceptance in recent years. Its relatively high degree of reliability is due in part to the rigorous training seminars which all OPI testers must undergo in order to become certified and to maintain themselves as testers. The OPI offers a degree of face validity to as well, in that it requires the candidate to speak in a realistic conversational setting. The content validity of the OPI is maintained by reasonably rigorous testing protocols which require trained interviewers always to test repeatedly for the functions, content, and accuracy that characterize each level.

Unlike the listening and reading tests, the OPI requires that at least one tester spend typically from 20-30 minutes to elicit a rateable sample from each candidate. The OPI is, therefore, a more time-consuming procedure than many traditional testing instruments; it is reminiscent of oral testing long established in Russian and Soviet academic examinations. The incidence of unrateable samples from this procedure is relatively low; furthermore, certified testers

independently assign to the same live or recorded OPI the same rating, or, occasionally differ by only a "plus" point.

The five-point proficiency scale is best visualized as a three-dimensional model resembling an inverted pyramid, with the novice-level of proficiency at the bottom and the native ("5") level at the top. (See Exhibit Four, Inverted Pyramid of Language Proficiency) The typical acquisition time of an English-speaking learner of Russian of above average/average language learning aptitude (for example, as measured by MLAT) is included in Exhibit Four.

3.0 Data Analysis

In this section we present some preliminary results on variables related to gains in language competence for students in the four-month ACTR programs. From the policy point of view, our aim is to establish the characteristics of students who gain and to isolate variables that discriminate between students who gain and students who do not. As a statistical study of correlates of gain, our approach is analogous to that of epidemiological studies of diseases and pharmacological studies of the effectiveness of drugs. In this mode, men over a certain age might be advised by their physician to take an aspirin every other day on the grounds that it lowers their risk of heart disease, even if the mechanisms are not known and even if some individuals may not derive any benefit. Analogously, in the present study our perspective is that of a program director and our emphasis is on effective placement and program management on a statistical basis. The issues involved concern placing students in programs which best serve their individual needs, such as at what stage of language learning can students take best advantage of study abroad? Which students should go, and when? What gross characteristics of programs and experiences are the most productive for given learners? Thus, on the basis of results such as ours, students with good grounding in grammar but little speaking proficiency might be advised to study abroad at a particular time and placed in particular programs.

From the point of view of the acquisition process itself, our analysis provides the factual context for more detailed scientific studies of what students learn and how they learn it. Our aim here is to establish robust relationships that require explanation and to suggest hypotheses that might guide subsequent research. Broadly speaking, explanations of relationships fall into three categories, all of which are represented below: specification of other variables which could account for the connection, e.g. differences in language gains between men and women might be accounted for in terms of their educational goals or their overall academic performance; specification of causal processes at a microlevel that produce the observed relationships, e.g. differences in gains between men and women might be accounted for in terms of differentials in the structure of conversations with native speakers which affect the learning process (this would be analogous to microbiological studies of how viruses affect cells); and specification of artifacts in measures and statistical procedures used in the analysis, e.g., variables may lack explanatory power because the oral proficiency interview is not sensitive enough, at a particular levels of proficiency, to capture the benefits of four months study abroad, or because a gain of a level may be much easier at the intermediate than at the advanced level. Although all of these types of explanation in the final analysis call for more and better data, we shall see that the results based on the data available are pertinent to many of the questions commonly raised in the field and strong enough to draw conclusions that are not purely speculative.

3.1 Analytical Methods

The results we shall present were for the most part derived using regression analysis. Regression analysis is a family of statistical techniques which permits assessment of the effects of several factors simultaneously, and, more importantly, produces estimated relationships between the criterion (dependent variable) and its determinants (independent variables) which are purged of effects of other variables which could affect them. This is not the place to go into the technical details of our statistical methods. Indeed we shall only present a qualitative summary of our results here, leaving fuller discussion for a forthcoming study.[11] Intuitively, the motivation of our methods and an indication of how the results can be interpreted are captured in the old cliche that correlation does not imply causality. The more firemen there are at a fire the worse the damage, and the more storks there are in an area the higher the birth rate, but that does not mean that firemen cause damage or that storks bring babies. Clearly in the former the severity of the fire, and in the latter whether an area is rural or urban, must be taken into account, i.e. brought under control, before any meaningful relationships can be stated. Similarly, to take a somewhat whimsical example from Mosteller and Tukey, in examining the relationship between performance on a French dictation test and body weight, one would find a strong positive relationship if the sample contained children ranging in age from eight to sixteen (with the older children being heavy and more accomplished in French and the younger children being light and less accomplished), a strong negative relationship if the sample were restricted to sixteen-year-olds but contained a mixture of French (lighter) and American (heavier) students, and a weak negative relationship in a sample of sixteen-year-old Americans containing girls (on average lighter and better at French) and boys. Again, in order to interpret the observed relationship, the population in which it occurs must be specified and key variables related both to French proficiency and body weight (age, nationality, gender, as the case may be) isolated and controlled. Regression analysis is a way of exercising this needed control statistically, purging estimated relationships of the effects of many extraneous factors simultaneously, and leading to estimated effects which, while not guaranteed to be free of spurious effects, at the least cannot be explained on the basis of any other variables that are explicitly included in the analysis.

In our investigation of the determinates of gain during study abroad we examined all three language proficiency measures for which pre- and post-tests were available, *viz.* oral proficiency as measured by the OPI, and listening proficiency and reading proficiency, as measured by the ETS tests. Gain, the dependent variable in our analysis, is defined as the difference between before and after ratings. In the case of the OPI, where ratings are in terms of discrete categories, several binary criteria based on changes were used (see below). In the case of the ETS tests our analysis is based on the raw scores. Because the before and after tests are not equivalent in difficulty, the difference in scores is not meaningful per se, but the estimated effects in the regression analysis are still valid. As independent variables, i.e. factors that could account for differentials in gain, we considered all of the variables in the ACTR database described in the previous section. Regression equations (logit regressions in the case of the OPI, ordinary least squares in the case of ETS listening and reading) were estimated to determine effects, controlled for the influence of other variables, based on all cases with valid data. (The total number of observations varied from analysis to analysis, since ETS tests were administered starting in 1986 while OPIs were administered to everyone starting in 1984, and since in both cases there were a small number of students for whom scores were not available.)

3.2 Oral Proficiency

We look first at factors related to gains in oral proficiency as measured on the oral proficiency interviews (OPI's) taken at the pre-program departure orientation and in the Soviet Union just at the end of the four-month program. Exhibit Five shows the overwhelming effect of initial proficiency level on the likelihood of gain, an effect which is equally strong no matter what other variables are controlled. For those starting at 0+ (novice high) everyone improves; among those who begin at 1 (intermediate), by far the largest group, only 14% do not gain and almost 30% gain two or more points, reaching the advanced category; among the 1+'s (intermediate highs), 28% show no gain, although again more than 30% gain two or more; among advanced students (2, 2+, and 3) about 55% show no gain, although many still make significant improvements. These results can be explained partly by the testing artifact noted above that as one moves up the OPI rating scale, ever expanding language skills are required (so that the scale points (0+, 1, 1+, 2, etc.) are further apart as one moves up), and partly by the general nature of learning curves for complex skills, where a given increment requires increasing time and effort as proficiency increases. Whatever the reason, it is essential to control for initial level in examining the effects of any variable that might be related to gain.

With Exhibit Five in mind, three analyses of factors related to OPI gains were run. In the first we used the straightforward criterion of no gain vs. gain (i.e. those in the first column of the table vs. the rest), with initial level controlled quantitatively in the logit regressions. In a second analysis we tried to compensate for the fact that it is easier to gain at the lower levels than at the higher by equating students who started at 0+ and 1 and gained only a half a level (1 point) with nongainers at the higher levels, thus contrasting students gaining 2 or more starting at 0+ and 1, and students gaining 1 or more at 1+ and above, with the rest (right vs. left of the heavy line in the table). In a third analysis we confined our attention to students who were initially at 1 (the group large enough to study by itself), thus automatically eliminating any effects of initial level, and examined factors related to gains of two or more (i.e. gains from intermediate to advanced on the OPI scale).

Our analyses indicate that only a few variables in the database are related to OPI gain when proper control is exercised, no matter what criterion is used. (The logit regression results are confirmed by tree structured regression, a very different statistical technique, to be reported in a subsequent publication.) Two variables are highly significant on all criteria:

- the higher the scores on the ACTR qualifying reading test, the more likely a student is to gain, and
- men tend to gain more than women.

The effect of good reading skills on oral proficiency gains is particularly strong among initial 1's moving into the 2 category (OPI analysis 3 above). As expected, initial OPI level had an extremely strong effect on gain, even with all the other variables controlled, which implies that the nature of the scale or the learning curve, rather than differences in preparation or motivation, are at work. With the stricter, second criterion, requiring gains of 2 or more at the low levels, the effect of initial OPI on average disappears, implying that the criterion adjusts for initial level.

On the simple gain vs. no gain criterion, two further variables are significant:

- students in earlier years of the program (1984) gain more often than students in more recent years (1989), and
- students with knowledge of other (non-Slavic) languages gain more than students whose only foreign language is Russian.

Exhibit Five

Gain in OPI by Initial Level*

Gain
(Based on Post-Program OPI Rating)‡

		0 or loss	*1*	*2*	*3 or more*	*Total*
	0+		14† (54)	10 (39)	2 (8)	26
	1	35 (14)	151 (58)	56 (22)	18 (7)	260
Pre-Program OPI Rating	*1+*	27 (28)	39 (41)	29 (30)	1 (1)	96
	2	23 (55)	19 (45)			42
	2+ and 3	12 (60)	8 (40)			20
		97	231	95	21	444

*Heavy line defines the second criterion of gain.

†Number (percent) of students (subjects in sampling)

‡Given a scale of:
0+
1
1+
2
2+
3

a gain of "1" in the present analysis indicates movement from one level on the proficiency to the next rating level; a gain of 2 indicates an increase of 2 levels: 0+ to 1+, 1 to 2, 1+ to 2+.

There are also significant differences in simple gains between the five institutes in which students take courses, although they are difficult to interpret on the basis of difference in the formal, in-class programs. Among the students starting at 1 there is some evidence that younger students are more likely to make substantial gains than older students, although the effect is not highly significant statistically. Rounding out the main analysis, there is some indication that the more lab hours and the less classroom hours students have had in their previous courses the better they do. These results are, however, somewhat ambiguous because these variables are highly correlated with one another and with other key variables in the analysis. Since both class and lab hours are important determinants of initial language levels, interpretation of their effects must be based on factors associated with education but not measured by any of the tests. Finally with regard to oral proficiency, there is intriguing evidence that the resident directors' ratings of motivation and attitudes are significant indicators of gain. In particular, on all criteria, leadership potential is clearly positively related and ability to work in groups clearly negatively related to gain; native ability, willingness to use Russian, and cultural adaptivity have positive but less certain effects. These results must be considered preliminary, however, since resident director ratings are missing in the database in some cases and since these variables are very highly intercorrelated.

In interpreting the regression results it is important to remember that the effects attributed to variables noted above hold over and above those of any other variables in the analysis. Or, to put it slightly differently, the effects reported here cannot be explained by any other variables in the database. Thus, for example, better readers by and large have higher oral proficiency scores, but the results say that at every level of initial proficiency a better reader is more likely to gain than a poorer one. Similarly, there are many differences between men and women in academic achievement, motivation, etc., but the somewhat counter-intuitive result that men do better than women in the programs we study holds after all other differences attributable to variables we have measured (language aptitude, major field of study, previous preparation, mastery of other languages, etc.) have been ruled out as possible explanations. The explanation of gender differences must, accordingly, lie in factors we have not measured, such as differences in the nature of language learning experiences that men and women have while in the Soviet Union. We shall return to this point below.

It should also be noted that many variables which one might think *a priori* are important turn out not to be associated with OPI gain in our data, once the key factors mentioned above are taken into account and controlled. These include: language aptitude, as measured by the MLAT's, major field of study, highest degree earned, and participation in a previous immersion program.

3.3 Listening Proficiency

We turn now to gains in listening proficiency as measured by changes on the ETS test. For the most part, students on the ACTR programs start at the intermediate level (1 and 1+), although some are in higher categories. As with the OPI, there is an extremely strong, negative relationship between initial level and gain (with a t-statistic in the regressions over 10). Controlling for initial level, several variables are significantly related to gain, most of which were found to be significant for oral proficiency as well:

- younger students gain substantially more on average than older students;
- men gain more on average than women;
- students with knowledge of other, non-Slavic languages gain more on average than students with no other languages;
- students gain more on average if they have been involved previously in an in-country immersion program;
- students with high language aptitude, as measured by the MLAT, gain substantially more on average than students with low aptitude;
- students with high qualifying reading scores gain substantially more on average than students with low scores.

There are also quite significant differences associated with the institute in which the student is enrolled, but as with the OPI these effects are difficult to interpret without further analysis. There is some indication that lab hours are positively related to gains, but the effect is not statistically significant by the usual criteria and should therefore not be interpreted here. Save for the difference between men and women, which is consistent with the results on the OPI, all of the relationships noted above are in the expected direction.

3.4 Reading Proficiency

Finally, we look at changes in reading proficiency. Over 40% of ACTR students are already advanced readers when they begin the program, but there is still room for gain on the ETS test. In addition to initial level, which in this case too has an extremely strong effect,

- language aptitude (MLAT) is very strongly, positively related to gain;
- scores on the ACTR qualifying grammar test are also positively related to gain, although this effect is difficult to separate from a similar positive effect of the qualifying reading test;
- knowledge of other (non-Slavic) languages is positively related to reading gain.

There are also strong differences among institutes. Even with reading, the sex effect favors men, although its magnitude is not quite large enough to reach statistical significance.

In concluding this presentation of results, let us reiterate that the effects noted here are genuine in the sense that they cannot be accounted for by any other variables in the study, and they must stand to the extent that no obvious variables characterizing students before entry into the ACTR program (at least), are left unmeasured. Moreover, variables in the ACTR database which do not have statistically significant effects are in all likelihood unimportant predictors when the significant variables are taken into account. Of course, there are many variables affecting gain which we have not measured, in particular variables characterizing what happens during the student's period of study in the Soviet Union. Measuring these would help to give us a much firmer grasp of the nature of the learning process and of the mechanisms by which the variables in this study have their effects. We return to this discussion in the concluding section.

4.0 Discussion

Significant gains in language proficiency are achieved by a wide variety of American college-level learners of Russian as a result of their in-country immersion experience. Of particular interest in this connection are gains resulting in post-program oral and listening proficiency in the 2-range ("advanced") or higher, skill levels rarely attained by graduates of stateside B.A. programs in Russian. On the OPI (see Exhibit Five) 28% of the initial 1s make the large jump to 2 and above and of the 1+s fully 72% cross the 2 barrier. On the ETS listening test (with scores converted to proficiency ratings according to the table in section 2.2), 45 % of the 280 students rated as 1 at the start of the program (the bulk of the sample) make the big leap to 2 and above, and 77% of the 48 initial 1+s cross the 2 barrier. Very substantial gains in reading are common as well. Twenty-four percent of initial 1s and 60% of initial 1+s reach 2 and above. Of particular interest are the significant number of students who reach the 3 -level ("superior") in reading -- 8% of initial 1s, 17% of initial 1+s, 45% of initial 2s, and 57% of initial 2+s -- so that at the end of the program fully 27% of the 316 students not there to begin with reach the highest possible level of this test, a level considered adequate for regular professional activity requiring the use of Russian . All in all, comparable levels in all three skills are obtainable only by further immersion study and/or comparable programs. (We shall analyze the effects of Soviet Academic Year Programs in a forthcoming paper.)

4.1 Oral Proficiency

Among key determinants of gain in Russian, qualifying grammar and reading achievement scores show significant predictive value for oral proficiency, reading proficiency, and listening proficiency alike. Higher levels of control of basic grammar and reading skills, as measured by Q-Grammar/Q-Read, correlate positively with gain in all three skills. Although the data indicate that the lower the initial proficiency level the greater the gain — an effect which is partly an artifact of the proficiency scale (see Exhibit Four), and partly a result of the learning curve itself — the significant fact is that at any given initial level the better prepared one is in reading/grammar the more one tends to gain. This finding and the size

of the sample on which it is based has significance for the on-going debates in the foreign language acquisition field (especially following Higgs and Clifford, 1983) concerning the role of explicit grammatical knowledge in the development of communicative skills, as well as for our understanding of the interrelationship of the several skills in the acquisitional process. Given its importance, additional research should be devoted to replicating the results of the present study.

With respect to the usefulness of the numerous testing instruments involved in the present study, it can be concluded that the now 30-year-old Modern Foreign Language Aptitude Test (MLAT) is a valid predictor of success in developing reading and listening skills in Russian; the MLAT, however, does not serve to predict oral proficiency gain as measured by the standard OPI. Further analysis of the role of attitudinal factors affecting gain (especially leadership ability, but also cultural adaptability, and motivation) is important, particularly the extent to which these factors can be seen to compensate for deficiencies in other areas also known to affect proficiency gain.

The dramatic increase in opportunities for study in the USSR during the past five years has made it possible to attract a more diverse student population to the programs with initial skill levels that more closely approximate those of the typical US undergraduate major. In the early years of the present study, graduate students and teaching assistants made up a large percentage of all ACTR in-country semester placements, while Soviet admission regulations excluded from participation in these programs virtually anyone other than current and future teachers of Russian. Although there does not seem to be any relationship between college major and gain in our data, further analysis of the performance of program participants by disciplines as well as by host institutions is needed before it will be possible to interpret the program-year effect. It would be difficult to deny that the opening of Soviet society under Gorbachev has made study in that country more stimulating intellectually for American students than ever before, even as it has multiplied the possibilities for significant cultural immersion within Soviet society. In short, all our evidence indicates that the programs in recent years are academically stronger than in years past; the explanation for the "year-effect" remains elusive.

4.2 Reading and Listening Proficiency

The above results indicate that gain, as measured by OPI, ETS Listening, and ETS Reading, respectively, is positively correlated with a students' knowledge of another (non-Slavic) foreign language. (Most often, French, German or Spanish.) Controlling for language aptitude (MLAT) and for motivation (as indicated by the resident director evaluations), one plausible interpretation is what might be termed the "skilled second language learner" effect, which involves more efficient use of specific kinds of cognitive strategies for communicating in natural environments and for expanding one's linguistic knowledge on the basis of this communication.[12] Clearly, more data concerning the influence of previous second language experience on learning in and outside of class is needed, data which would include ethnographic observations on behavioral differences between skilled and non-skilled language learners particularly in real communication tasks in natural environments.

Another factor in the acquisitional process, which our data and analysis reveal, is the effect of a previous immersion experience on the rate of gain in listening skills. The beneficial effect of a previous immersion experience seems logical, even if little investigated to date. Students who have had significant experience in communicating successfully under uncontrolled conditions (i.e., outside of the classroom with native speakers) might well be expected to have developed specific comprehension strategies transferable to the in-country environment of the ACTR programs. As is the case with students with previous second language experience, more information will be required to determine how and to what extent learning opportunities are expanded for students who return to an immersion environment.

4.3 Other Observations

A further notable finding of this study is that, when other important factors are controlled, the gains as measured by the OPI and the ETS Listening tests are significantly higher for males than for females. A comprehensive analysis of this phenomenon requires ethnographic study of communicational interactions in-country, both in and outside of classroom, to determine whether culturally-defined gender roles have an impact upon communication and upon learning opportunities.

In the area of reading proficiency gain, younger students experience somewhat greater success than their older colleagues. Age traditionally is assumed to play a role in second language acquisition, but mostly with regard to children versus young adults.[13] Our study does not include the acquisition of a second language by children; it deals with learners in the 19-39 year age group and stands, therefore, outside of the bulk of SLA literature on age differences in the acquisitional process, awaiting further investigation and/or replication.

5.0 Next Steps

The results of the preceding analysis correlating gain with a range of independent variables reveal significant information concerning SLA in the study-abroad environment. However, as the database grows and as more variables and programs are added, it is clear that much more analysis and interpretation needs to be done. In addition, as the present project begins to yield important insights into the impact of study-abroad, the questions provoked by these results have led to a second major project in the overall study of SLA in study-abroad environment, undertaken by the NFLC with the support of the Ford Foundation and in cooperation with ACTR. The new project hopes to provide more discrimination both in the evaluation of "gain" and in the input and processing factors which characterize study-abroad.

Given its decreasing ability to reflect changes at the advanced level and beyond, there is little hope that the OPI can serve as a criterion for systematic research. There is a need for more discriminating measures of skills in the advanced range before quantitative studies can be fully exploited. To determine factors associated with gain during study abroad, the structured and unstructured learning environments must be carefully observed, both in terms of actual L2 input and in terms of individual and socially distributed learning processes. The Ford Foundation has funded the next project in the ACTR/NFLC long range analysis of study abroad.

Ethnographic data will be integrated with and conditioned on variables found to be significant in the present study, including gender, previous immersion, knowledge of other languages, and control of basic grammar.

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[1] The ACTR data base, begun in 1976, is growing at the present rate of approximately 120 student profiles a semester. Plans are to extend the base to ten-month and summer students as well.

[2] As a rule, administrators of most foreign language programs in American schools and universities are themselves untrained in second language acquisition and often unaware of SL research. For the most part, the chairs are literature specialists or linguists, who may or may not have direct experience in the language teaching classroom. In the United States, the deans and other upper level administrators to whom they report and from whom they receive budgets are often scholars who may lack personal experience with foreign languages.

[3] An examination of the factors internal to study-abroad SLA can be revealing and suggest the need for a contrastive study with immersion domestic programs.

[4] Swaffar (1989) characterizes these changes as a shift in paradigm, in the Kuhnian sense. See Kuhn, Thomas. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

[5] As Ellis (1986:18) puts it, "A theory of SLA is an attempt to show how input, internal processing, and linguistic output are related." See Ellis, Rod. *Understanding Second Language Acquisition*, 1986, Oxford University Press. Exhibit One is an elaboration of similar schemas in Ellis 1986.

[6] The present study shares elements of approach with a recent study conducted by the European Science Foundation; both studies are empirical, multi-year, cross-sectional and longitudinal investigations of the acquisition of language in an immersion environment. However, while the ESF project investigates spontaneous second language acquisition on the part of migrant workers in Western Europe, we are focused on advanced-level SLA in structured learning programs with an in-country immersion component. In contrast to the ESF project, which measures language gain by means of a series of non-standardized instruments and observations, the ACTR/NFLC study takes as its starting point the set of measurement instruments employed across the academic and governmental language teaching profession. The advantages of this more traditional approach are obvious. Equally important, though, is the fact that this approach provides an unprecedented opportunity to evaluate the testing instruments themselves, or to determine just what they are testing. See also Clive Perdue, ed. *Second Language Acquisition by Adult Immigrants: A Field Manual*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers, 1984.

[7] See Dan Davidson, "Assessing Language Proficiency Levels of American Participants in Russian Language Programs in the Soviet Union," *Russian Language Journal*, XXXVI, No. 125, 1982, 221-232.

[8] Of the 3000-odd two and four-year colleges in the U.S., approximately 475 offer regular Russian language training, of which, approximately 245 include undergraduate major programs, 75 M.A.-level programs, and 35 Ph.D.-level programs in language and literature. Summer "intensive programs" are reasonably common at B.A. and graduate-level institutions and provide comparable contact hours during two summer months as would normally result from a two-semester through-the-year course (i.e., 100-140 hours). A special role in accelerating the language training of American students has been played by the *intensive-immersion* type, providing in the vicinity of 250-contact hours of training within the controlled environment of an "around-the-clock" cultural enhancement and residential program. The Middlebury Summer School is the oldest such program in the US, with similar long-standing immersion programs in place at Bryn Mawr College, Indiana University, and Norwich University. These summer immersion programs admit qualified students from throughout the US and abroad.

[9] Detailed information on the methods of calibration and norming of the ETS advanced-level reading and listening tests used in this study are reported in the ETS publication, *Russian Proficiency Test*. Test and Score Manual, Princeton, New Jersey, 1986. Of the approximately 500 American university students taking part in the norming of the ETS tests in 1985-6, only 2% tested at the "superior" level (3) in listening, while 12% tested at that level in reading; of these, more than half were in their fifth year of formal study of Russian or beyond. While 78% of the norm group scored below 1+ on the listening exam, including nearly half of those in their fifth year of study or beyond, only 31% scored below 1+ on the reading exam, including 12 of the 42 persons in their fifth year of study. In-country performance data in reading, and especially in listening comprehension development, is of particular interest given the obvious inadequacies of stateside training in these skills.

[10] The Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI), as adapted for use in US academic settings, has been well described in the literature, especially after 1982: Educational Testing Service. *ETS Oral Proficiency Testing Manual*. Princeton, 1982; (Pardee Lowe, Jr., "The ILR Oral Interview: Origins, Applications, Pitfalls, and Implications," *Die Unterrichtspraxis* 16 (1983), 230-232; Judith Liskin-Gasparro, "The ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines: An Historical Perspective," *Teaching for Proficiency, the Organizing Principle*, ed. Theodore V. Higgs, Lincolnwood, IL, 1984, 11-42; also, see Claire Kramsch, "Proficiency versus Achievement: Reflections on the Proficiency Movement," *ADFL Bulletin*, 18, No. 1, September 1986, 22 - 24. Lyle Bachman and Sandra Savignon, "The Evaluation of Communicative Language Proficiency: A Critique of the ACTFL Oral Interview," *Modern Language Journal* 70, 1986, 380-390; Heidi Byrnes, "Speech as Process," *Foreign Language Annals*, 20, No. 4, 1987, 301-310. Russian-specific proficiency guidelines were published by ACTFL under USED contract in 1984 (preliminary) and released along with generic guidelines in 1986: American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. *ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines*. Hastings-on-Hudson, 1986. See also Dandonoli, P., G. Henning, "An Investigation of the Construct Validity of the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines and Oral Proficiency Interview," *Foreign Language Annuals*, 23, No. 1, 1990, 11-22.

[11] R. Brecht, D. Davidson, R. Ginsberg, "Advanced Acquisition of Russian in a Study Abroad Environment. A Longitudinal Study of Skills Development," forthcoming.

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[12] Published work on the subject of communication strategies refers to "reduction" and "achievement" strategies, the former referring to avoidance conduct when faced with a communication "breakdown" and the latter to compensation. The assumption that learning is enhanced by compensation strategies which attempt to keep to the task at hand and to elicit the required knowledge. See Ellis 1986 (187 ff.) for a discussion of the literature on the subject.

[13] See the references in Ellis 1986: 104 ff.

An Overview of 1987, 1988, 1989 NEH Institutes, NEH National Network and Symposium in Russian Language and Culture

Zita D. Dabars, CORLAC, Friends School of Baltimore

The dream was to strengthen the teaching of Russian nationwide—through three NEH Summer Institutes in Russian Language and Culture, a NEH National Network, and a Symposium that would bring together the participants and staff from the three Institutes. The realization of this dream was made possible by NEH in the form of two grants (August, 1986 and January, 1987) to the Center of Russian Language and Culture (CORLAC) in collaboration with Bryn Mawr College and the American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR). The Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation and the Ford Foundation later contributed an additional amount in support of the Symposium to the total awarded by NEH. The Institutes were overseen by Institute Co-Directors Dan E. Davidson and Zita D. Dabars, with Zita D. Dabars the grant's Project Director.

Why was it significant that the program be nationwide? It was significant due in part to the peculiar nature of the Russian field—undeveloped with few teachers (especially in high schools) spread over a wide geographical area. In 1986 at the time the initial grant

proposal was written, there were only about 300 public and private high schools (with 350 teachers) offering Russian throughout the United States. About 5,000 high school students and 34,000 college/university students studied Russian at that time.

The nationwide dimensions of the three NEH Institutes are illustrated by the geographical distribution of the participants who came from twenty-eight states:

STATES	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS
New York	9
California	8
Pennsylvania	7
Virginia	6
Maryland, Ohio	5
Colorado, Indiana, Utah	3
Alaska, Illinois, Iowa, Louisiana, Michigan, Oregon, Texas, Washington	2
Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Hawaii Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Wisconsin	1
28 states represented	76 total participants

NEH REGIONS	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS	
Far West	18	(24%)
Atlantic	16	(21%)
Mid West	16	(21%)
South West & West	14	(18%)
Northeast	12	(16%)

The initial grant proposal was a direct response to "Understanding Other Nations," one of two Endowment initiatives announced by John Agresto in October, 1985 when he was Acting Chairman of NEH. We felt that a corps of teachers of Russian who have had an opportunity to study literature, intellectual history and culture in an atmosphere of shared intellectual inquiry is needed and should be developed. In order to build a corps of American *students* fluent in Russian and cognizant of Russian/Soviet culture, the skills and cultural awareness of language *teachers* should be upgraded. The Institutes would improve the teachers' level of cultural knowledge and personal language competence. They would be able to better train and evaluate their students' performance in terms of cultural awareness

and functional proficiency. The students, in turn, would become a national resource in a competitive world aware of the culture and proficient in the principal language of the Soviet Union.

In order for teachers to challenge students to think, teachers themselves need to be challenged. One participant in her application to the 1987 Institute wrote:

> I desperately need to increase my skills in Russian grammar, conversation, history and culture. Learning a second language can be a thrilling experience for students, giving them self-confidence and the ability to understand and appreciate the viewpoints of others, if their teacher is able to meet their needs. I need to be ready for my students.

This teacher could not turn to Russian colleagues in her school for help, as attested to by Dr. Barry Scherr, then President of AATSEEL, in his letter supporting our proposal:

> Unlike Spanish or French (and in many cases Latin and German), Russian programs in secondary schools are almost inevitably small. It is a rare public or even private school that can boast of as many as three teachers of Russian; in all too many cases entire Russian programs are the responsibility of a single individual who may also be required to teach other languages as well. What is more, while those involved with the more commonly taught languages are likely to have colleagues at nearby schools, Russian programs often exist in isolation.

Dr. Scherr could have said the same about teachers in small colleges.

Prior to submitting our proposal to NEH, the decision was made to consult the leaders of the major organizations in the Slavic field and foreign languages. Letters of support of the proposal sent to NEH resulted from extensive phone calls and meetings with organizational leaders such as Dr. Richard Brecht, then President of the American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR); Dr. Barry Scherr, past President of the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages (AATSEEL); Dr. Dorothy Atkinson, Executive Director of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS); Dr. John Schillinger, Chair of the Committee on College and Pre-College Russian (CCPCR), sponsored by the three Russian organizations just mentioned above, and immediate past President of AATSEEL; and Dr. Donald Jarvis,

Chair of the Language Committee, AAASS and present president of ACTR. We also consulted with people outside the Russian profession, such as Dr. C. Edward Scebold, Executive Director, American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) and Dr. J. David Edwards, Executive Director, Joint National Committee for Languages (JNCL).

THE INSTITUTES

The Institutes consisted of the following components: Culture and Civilization Course, Discussion Section, Adaptation of the Culture and Civilization Course for Use in the Classrooms, Methodology, Enhancement of Individual Skills, Film Discussions, Evening Activities.

The Culture and Civilization Course component (one group, 90 minutes, five days a week) of the Institutes was designed to reestablish and broaden the participants' knowledge of the essential themes of Russian civilization and culture. Participants delved into the whole range of ideas and styles found in literary works, art, music, philosophical thought, and the course of history. Care was taken that while the broad outlines of history and literature were presented, nevertheless participants concentrated in depth on certain specific topics through later individual work in writing weekly papers.

The major topics of the lectures held in this component were: The History and Culture of Kievan and Muscovite Rus'; St. Petersburg—Russia's Window to the West; The Superimposition of Western Institutions and Culture on the Indigenous Russian Model; The Second Half of the 19th Century: The Era of Reform; Nationalism and Realism in Art, Architecture, Music and Literature; Between Centuries: The Cultural Renaissance of the Early 20th Century; Socialist Realism in Art and Literature; The Thaw and Its Aftermath: New Voices in Russian Literature, the Rise of Dissent, Samizdat and Tamizdat; Russian Literature in the 1980s: Village Prose, Urban Prose, Non-Russian Soviet Writers. Lecturers for this part of the Institutes were Professors Sergei Davydov (1987, Bryn Mawr College/Middlebury College), Dan E. Davidson (1988, 1989, Bryn Mawr College) and Helen Segall (1987, 1988, 1989, Dickinson College). During the 1988 and 1989 NEH Institutes Maria Lekic (University of Maryland) concentrated on literature after Stalin. Her

themes were: The 1940s: Two Wars of One Nation; Broken Expectations or Ups and Downs in the Literary Climate (50s and 60s); The Issues of the Conquest of Socialism, Erased Contradictions and Literary Trends (the 70s); Literary Excavations and Belated Revelations; New Voices in Soviet Literature: Ermakov, Sokolov, Petrushevskaja, Tolstaja.

Following the morning's lecture participants were offered a choice of one of two activities: 1) Discussion of the morning lecture, 2) Materials Adaptation. (Two groups, 90 minutes, five days a week) One group spent the 90-minute period discussing the preceding lecture with Ada Mayo (1987, 1988, Bryn Mawr College). The goal was to analyze verbally in Russian the ideas presented in the lecture and to intellectually respond to what had just been heard. The other group worked with Dorothy Soudakoff (1987, Indiana University), Irene Thompson (1988, 1989, George Washington University) and Frederick Johnson (1988, 1989, Northfield Mt. Hermon School) on the adaption of Russian cultural materials to a level that pre-college teachers and teachers in small colleges can utilize in their classes. In the course of the three years over twenty-five Culture Capsules were prepared; they were distributed to all the Institute participants and selectively made available to the Russian profession through the NEH National Network.

For the 1989 Institute, a Grammar section taught by Irene Thompson and Fred Johnson was added in this time slot. Topics included verbs of motion, verbal prefixation, verbal aspect, use of the infinitive in Russian, time expressions, stress patterns, transformational approach to verbs with -ся and word order.

In the Methodology section (one group, 90 minutes, five days a week), varying pedagogical methods were examined. Emphasis was placed on Proficiency Guidelines for Speaking, Listening, Writing and Reading. Participants of the Institute had an opportunity to familiarize themselves with current testing instruments in Russian. Irene Thompson (1987, 1988, 1989), working in the last Institute with Olga Kagan (1989, UCLA), was in charge of this section of the Institute. For many participants this was the aspect of the Institutes which influenced most strongly their teaching, leading them to teach in a more proficiency-based manner.

The Individual Skills Enhancement section (three groups, 90 minutes, four days a week, Monday through Thursday) focused on cultural material prepared by Institute teachers to activate the vocabulary used in the Culture and Civilization lecture. In addition, it was in this section that each participant wrote a weekly theme in Russian. The goal was to intertwine skill-developing techniques with the culture emphasis of each week. The faculty for the three years, all native speakers of Russian, were Regina Avrashov (1988, University of Colorado), Nina Baranova (1987, Bryn Mawr College), Ada Mayo (1989, Bryn Mawr College), Olga Kagan (1989, UCLA), Gina Katsenelinboigen (1987, University of Pennsylvania), Katerina Moskver (1987, 1988, 1989, Bryn Mawr College).

On Fridays (the day the Individual Skills Enhancement section did not meet), a session led by Helen Segall was devoted to a discussion of the films, ranging from classic to contemporary, which were shown in the evenings during the week. Thought questions and vocabulary aids had been prepared before each film. The film *Борис Годунов* (*Boris Godunov*), for example, was discussed from the point of view of its importance in history ("The Time of Troubles," Nationalism), literature (Pushkin's play, "Boris Godunov"), music (Opera—the Russian School of Music, the Mighty Five and Musorgskij and Rimskij-Korsakov), the Ballet Russes and its production of this opera.

Throughout the month-long session, evening lectures on a wide variety of topics by top scholars provided further enrichment: religion—Harry Booth (1987, 1988, Dickinson College) and Alexander V. Riasanovsky (1989, University of Pennsylvania); music—Truman Bullard (1987, 1988, 1989, Dickinson College), David Finko (1987, 1988, University of Pennsylvania), Harlow Robinson (1989, SUNY-Albany); economics—Herbert Levine (1988, 1989, University of Pennsylvania); 19th-century Russian cultural history—Linda Gerstein (1987, 1988, 1989, Haverford College); history—Alfred Rieber (1989, University of Pennsylvania); Soviet film—Katerina Clark (1988, Yale University); Soviet theater—Alma Law (1988, City University of New York); Russian culture—author, Suzanne Massie (1987).

Adding richness to the list of lectures were the occasions when visiting Soviet scholars and government officials addressed the NEH participants in conjunction, frequently, with students from the Russian Language Institute. To mention just a few of such guest scholars, we were pleased to hear: Mark Nikolaevich Viatyutnev (Head, High School Textbook Section, Pushkin Institute, Moscow), co-author of the new US-USSR basal high school textbook, *Лицом к лицу* (*Face* *to Face*), Alla Mikhailovna Rodimkino (Senior Scholar, Herzen Institute, Leningrad), and Georgij Petrovich Veselov (Minister of Education, RSFSR).

In addition to having access to the films rented professionally for the Institutes, participants were able to avail themselves in their free time of other films provided on videotape. [The rented films included: Андрей Рублёв (*Andrej Rubljov*), Борис Годунов (*Boris Godunov*), Обломов (*Oblomov*), Дама с собачкой (*Lady with a Dog*), Чучело (*Scarecrow*), Покояние (*Repentence*), Маленькая Вера (*Little Vera*), Комиссар (*Commissar*), Мой друг Иван Лапшин (*My Friend Ivan Lapshin*), Фонтан (*Fountain*).]

During the three Institutes each year the participants spent one Saturday on a culturally-oriented field trip. For two years the destination was New York City with visits to the Museum of Modern Art, the Victor Kamkin Bookstore, the Russian Tea Room and the Russian Samovar. The evenings were crowned with performances of the Bolshoi Ballet in Glazunov's *Raymonda* one year and the Kirov Ballet's *The Corsair* the next year. Even having the bus breakdown on the New Jersey Turnpike and returning to Bryn Mawr College at 3:30 a.m. did not dampen the 1987 participants' enthusiasm for the day's events. For the third year's field trip, we traveled to Washington, DC. We stopped at the Hirshhorn Museum in order to view the exhibit "Russian and Soviet Paintings, 1900-1930: Selections from the State Tretjakov Gallery and the State Russian Museum, Leningrad," visited the USSR Embassy to meet with cultural representatives, browsed at the Viktor Kamkin Bookstore, dined at the Serbian Crown restaurant, and in the evening viewed a performance of Paris Opera and Ballet Company's *Swan Lake* directed by Rudolf Nureyev.

In addition to evaluations of the Institute by the participants and staff each year, an Outside Evaluator spent a full day at the Institutes. In 1987 the Outside Evaluator was Dr. James Billington, the Librarian of the Library of Congress; in 1988 and 1989 Dr. S. Frederick Starr spent a day visiting the classes and meeting with the participants and staff. In the evening of their visits, Drs. Billington and Starr each delivered a lecture enjoyed by the Institute participants and staff as well as by the Bryn Mawr College community.

Graduate credit, from four to six hours, was available from Bryn Mawr College. The Institute provided room and board for all participants, transportation costs to and from the Institutes and a weekly stipend of $200. In addition, each participant was supplied with a large number of books and photocopied literary, historical and critical materials, and about ten cassette tapes of popular Russian songs, children's songs and classical music. Participants also received over 220 labeled slides of icons, 19th-century paintings, avant-garde, socialist realist and unofficial art. Those interested in word processing with Gutenberg Software on Apple computers worked with Fred Johnson and Steve Frank and then took home with themselves suitable materials (purchased at cost). Irene Thompson assisted with IBM compatible computers and Helen Segall and Allan Miller with Macintosh computers.

During the Institutes, the Conference and Events Office, under the direction of Lisa Zernicke, sought to provide for the participants a comfortable environment conducive to study and reflection. The offices of the Russian Department (Brian Smith and Beth Melofchik), Computing Center (Dr. Thomas Warger), Language Laboratory (Matt Roazen), Dining Services (Joan Doran), Purchasing (Paul Vassallo), Audiovisual (Ralph Del Giudice), and Housekeeping (Fred Cuspard) were most solicitous of the needs of participants. In addition, during the Institutes CORLAC staff, headed by Stephen Frank (1987, 1988, 1989) with assistance in 1988 from Elisa Shorr and in 1989 from Lisa Preston, was instrumental in assuring a smooth running of the Institutes. Special thanks also goes to Steve for his superb management of the Symposium. At Friends School, Sarah Daignault, Business Officer, efficiently took care of the myriad tasks connected with administering the NEH grant. Grant L. Jacks, III, Director of Admissions and Advancement, and Stanley B. Johnson, Principal, likewise gave valuable support and assistance.

FOLLOW-UP VISITS, FOLLOW-UP WORKSHOPS AND SYMPOSIUM ON RUSSIAN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Follow-up Visits

In addition to the Institutes, three other components were part of the Institute grant: follow-up visits, Follow-up Workshops and a Symposium. NEH provided funds for the Institute faculty to visit participants on their own campuses during the academic year. And the faculty staff did indeed fly and drive to twenty-eight states to be with the participants in their own schools. The aim was to see how the materials and teaching strategies acquired at the Institutes transferred to classroom teaching.

Frederick Johnson, a faculty member who visited four 1989 Institute participants, commented on these visits from his perspective:

1. It was both important and enjoyable to talk with foreign language program heads, supervisors and the teachers themselves, to share materials, to brainstorm about ways Russian programs can be promoted, and to talk about a wide range of initiatives taking place in the field such as exchanges, travel opportunities and summer programs.

2. Teachers can feel lonely and frustrated in small programs to which they are deeply committed, but which they have to fight to preserve. The visits enabled me to provide encouragement, and to suggest numerous ways to address problems. They also created warm collegial feelings, and established a good basis for future communication.

3. A most enjoyable and valuable benefit of the visits was the opportunity to see varying teaching styles, creative ideas in action, and to see the effectiveness with which the NEH Russian Institute stimuli and professional enrichment were being applied to individual programs. NEH would be gratified, indeed, to know just how strong the influence of the Institutes has been on changing individuals' methodology, so that it is much more proficiency-based.

Follow-up Workshops

After each of the three Institutes, Follow-up Workshops were held for that summer's participants. The Institute participants of 1987 and 1988 gathered at Bryn Mawr in May following their Institutes, while those from the 1989 Institute met in Washington, DC the following January. The Follow-up Workshops were highlighted by plenary sessions in which Maria Lekic and Helen Segall shared with the participants their views on the latest cultural developments which had taken place in the Soviet Union since the preceding Institute and in which Irene Thompson discussed the latest methodological developments.

During the course of the Follow-up Workshop, each participant shared with his/her colleagues some aspect of teaching which had been influenced by the Institute. Throughout the years some topics included: incorporating Institute materials, such as the slides handed out at the Institutes, in culture and language classes; using newspapers in beginning to advanced classes; facilitating conversation with the use of pictures and other visual aids; and incorporating the Culture Capsules (materials on topics such as geography, theater, folklore, education in the USSR) into the classroom curriculum.

In the year 1990 when the Follow-up Workshop met in Washington, DC, the participants were addressed by Angela Iovino (National Endowment for the Humanities), Molly Raymond (President's US-Soviet Exchange Initiative, United States Information Agency) and Jamie Draper (Joint National Committee for Languages). They were greeted by Dr. Viktor Ivanovich Zubarev (Deputy Chairman, State Committee on Public Education of the USSR), who commented on the need in the Soviet Union of Institutes such as the one the participants had attended. Olga Dmitrievna Mitrofanova (Vice Rector, Pushkin Institute) related to participants the preparations then in progress in Moscow for the VII International Congress of MAPRIAL to be held in August, 1990 and invited them to attend. Reflecting the professional interest which the Institutes, Follow-up Workshops, and Symposium had on participants, almost twenty Institute participants and faculty attended the International Congress. That evening the participants also heard Vladimir Nikolaevich Voinovich read from his works—including excerpts from *Шапка* (*The Hat*)—a work they had read at the Institutes.

In addition to the sharing of insights in the teaching of Russian language and culture, the Follow-up Workshops enabled participants to again meet in person the professional colleagues with whom they had spent a summer together and in many cases with whom they had continued to stay in contact by letters and telephone. This sharing of mutual experiences, professional concerns, and common humanistic and pedagogical goals united and strengthened many of the participants. Evaluating the Institutes for NEH, two participants wrote:

> This is the first time I've had colleagues. I'm no longer alone, isolated in my work.

and

> More than anything else, my confidence has been enhanced, not only from a language standpoint, but also from my connections with the many wonderful people with whom I spent last summer. When I need something or need to know something, I consult my list of Institute participants and send a letter or call the person I know can help. This networking is invaluable.

These are the words of two 1987 NEH Institute participants; they are representative of comments we heard over and over again. This network evolved as the natural outcome of the Institutes and was initially established by the 76 NEH Summer Instititute participants and staff.

Symposium

A celebration of sharing intellectual interests, professional concerns, and personal friendships which had formed at the individual NEH Summer Institutes took place when participants from all three NEH Summer Institutes gathered at Bryn Mawr College in May, 1990 for the Symposium: "Significant Russian/Soviet Cultural and Pedagogical Developments of the 1980s—Educating American Students for the Year 2000." This was the first time that participants and faculty from all three NEH Institutes were together.

Given the fact that the Symposium coincided with a hectic time of year for academe, it was gratifying to note the attendance. Of the three-year total of seventy-six participants, fifty-eight were able to come to the Symposium. Many of those who were unable to join were in the Soviet Union, and several others were either moving or had family conflicts.

The edited papers which were presented at this Symposium are the basis of this volume.

THE NEH NATIONAL NETWORK

In addition to this Network of the 76 participants who had been able to leave home and participate in the Institutes, an attempt was made through the NEH grants to reach those teachers who are unable to spend a month at an Institute. With this goal in mind, the country was divided into five regions with a Regional Director for each region: Northeast—Galina DeRoeck (Rutgers University) and Frederick Johnson (Northfield Mt. Hermon School, Northfield, Massachusetts); Atlantic Coast—Dan Desmond (Centennial High School, Ellicott City, Maryland); Mid West—Marian Walters (Toledo Public Schools, Toledo, Ohio); South West and West—Renate Bialy (Scotlandville Magnet High School, Baton Rouge, Louisiana); Far West—Kathleen Dillon (Polytechnic School, Pasadena, California).

At the Symposium referred to above, Regional Director (Far West) Kathleen Dillon reported on the activities of her region:

> Thanks to the NEH Russian Institute and the concept of having follow-up programs regionally, the western sector was able to produce two outreach experiences.
>
> In 1989 Professor Irene Thompson conducted a roundtable on implementing Institute materials in the classroom. This was followed by a demonstration class for secondary school students, given by Irene. It was videotaped for further examination by the teachers. This workshop was held on the campus of Polytechnic School, Pasadena, California.
>
> In 1990 an instructor from the Pushkin Institute, Marina Lukanova, lectured on teaching pronunciation and intonation patterns. She then taught a demonstration class to a mixed group of secondary and college level Russian students. Following the class, the teachers participated in a discussion, in Russian, of methods and results with Mrs. Lukanova. Olga Kagan, Institute staff in 1989, chaired the event. This workshop was funded in part by the Center for Russian and East European Studies at UCLA and was held on the UCLA Campus.

> We are deeply indebted to NEH and to Zita Dabars for all of the following factors that resulted in these two very successful programs:
>
> 1. **MOTIVATION**—these occasions are wanted, needed, well-attended, and appreciated, but they do not happen unless a designated person (e.g. the Regional Director) is held accountable for facilitating them.
> 2. **FUNDING**—although modest, school budgets simply do not allow teachers to produce or even to attend.
> 3. **PRESENTERS AND PARTICIPANTS**—it is through the network initiated at the NEH Summer Institutes that the Follow-up Workshops could address the issues of interest to most teachers of Russian and reach other Russian teachers who had not been able to participate in the Institutes.

Two other Regional Directors, Dan Desmond (Atlantic Coast) and Renate Bialy (South West and West), held one-day Workshops. The Culture Capsules produced at the NEH Summer Institutes were made available at these Workshops. Regional Newsletters were established by Frederick Johnson (Northeast) and Renate Bialy (South West and West). Marian Walters (Mid West) was instrumental in adding at least one session at the Central States Conference each year specifically for Russian language teachers. Many of the state conventions in her region are now more aware of Russian language teachers and include sessions for Russian teachers in their programs. All the Regional Directors communicated with the Russian teachers in their area through mailings.

Throughout the years of the NEH Grants, a unifying element for Institute participants and staff was the publication of the *Connection Newsletter* at CORLAC. Steve Frank, Chris Fray, Lisa Preston and Janet Innes served as Editors for the *Newsletter*; the five Regional Directors contributed as Associate Editors. The *Newsletter* printed articles and teaching materials, apprised teachers of upcoming events of professional interest and importance, as well as served to inform the NEH Institute family of their activities.

CONCLUSION

The summer NEH Institutes provided stimulating education in the humanities, maximum practical language training and language use in classrooms and a full array of stimulating support activities in a variety of formal and informal settings. The lovely surroundings of Bryn Mawr College, its excellent facilities and efficient staff provided an atmosphere which contributed to study and contemplation. Personal and professional friendships were formed which enriched the lives of participants as well as enhanced their teaching in the classroom. Many participants, who previously had not taken part in professional organizations, joined them, attended and/or delivered papers at their meetings. Numerous schools and colleges have since taken advantage of the ACTR Curriculum Consultant program announced at the NEH Institutes which has brought Soviet teachers to their classes. The enthusiasm, cooperation, and help of the participants, NEH faculty, and CORLAC staff truly has influenced the teaching of Russian nationwide—making it more humanistically and proficiency-oriented and more stimulating for our students.

Workshop Reports

Introduction

Irene Thompson, The George Washington University

You are privileged to have gone through the NEH Institutes, to have had a chance to talk with each other and to have formed networks. You have had the opportunity to get to know each other, and we have had the chance to get to know you. You are now a very powerful group of individuals; you will influence the future development of the Russian teaching field.

With that in mind, we would like you to think in terms of the next ten years until the end of the century. What should happen in the field—from your perspective as enlightened, experienced language teachers—in order for it to prosper? What are those factors that will affect the quality of language teaching in the United States? Let's isolate about four factors and break up into groups in order to brainstorm our professional needs for the next ten years. Select a notetaker, discuss your topic, formalize your reactions, and come back with a one-page summary report which can be presented to the entire group.

Workshop Report: CURRICULUM

Sarah Heyer, Southern Illinois University

Under the heading "Curriculum," we discussed both curriculum revision and the need for "articulation"—networking between high schools and colleges. This networking could be accomplished by local incentive, such as Southern Illinois University's Academic Alliance which brings area high school foreign language teachers to the university one Saturday each semester for a workshop, or by national organizations such as that developed by NEH and CORLAC. The need for such networks would be diminished if there were national standards which were universally accepted and applied for different levels. This would involve standardized placement exams and might encourage curriculum standardization (e.g., New York State Regents integrated with State University of New York). The limitations of a *local* network would be overcome by national standards which organizations such as American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) or Educational Testing Service (ETS) might provide.

Mourka Anderson described the curriculum at the seventh and eighth grade levels in which no one textbook is used. The general approach is proficiency, but a new goal might be to help students become proficient for an *exchange* which would mean greater use of the Russian language in the classroom.

At the high school level Sylvia Maizell uses Misha Fayer's *Simplified Russian Grammar* during the first year to create a comfortable atmosphere and achievable goals. Then when she begins to use Baker's version of *Русский язык для всех* in the second year, the students are able to complete twenty lessons.

For university teachers such as Galina DeRoeck, there is less time to tend to "atmosphere" as they teach according to administration requirements which emphasize that students pass grammar tests. And yet, despite this emphasis, most students completing the second year cannot pass the qualifying exams to attend a semester of study in Leningrad.

There is a dissatisfaction among university teachers with the inattention of administrators and older professors to students' communicative needs. It is not that we are seeking to eliminate grammar, but merely to remove it from its altar. It is not known how many schools offer business or technical Russian, but such courses, as well as newspaper-reading and drama courses, might be alternatives to a third-year course under the unappealing title of "Composition and Grammar."

The survey of Russian students compiled by John Caemmerer of the National Foreign Language Center may redirect our discussion and show what areas need further exploration.

Nothing can substitute for getting to know Russians, preferably in their homes. Once the feat of an exchange such as the US-USSR High School Academic Partnership has been accomplished, motivation is never again a problem.

Workshop Report: MATERIALS

Margot K. Frank, Randolph Macon Woman's College

On May 26, 1990 this group of NEH Russian Institute participants discussing materials for the teaching of Russian in the 1990s agreed on the following recommendations. These items were later approved by the entire Symposium.

1. Secure funds to provide a clearinghouse for collecting and making available at moderate charge authentic, contemporary, supplementary teaching materials. The group stressed that these materials must reflect the glasnost-perestroika era in both context and vocabulary. It was suggested that Zita Dabars of Friends School and Irene Thompson of George Washington University, both of whom have grant proposal writing experience, explore the possibilities for securing funding by approaching appropriate foundations.
2. Pursue production of a video course for Elementary Russian such as already exists for French and German.
3. Inform teachers about available computer programs for Russian language learners and set up workshops to train teachers in the use of such materials.
4. Perfect, edit and make available for distribution the culture capsules produced by the three NEH Institutes (1987, 1988 and 1989). Inform all teachers of Russian that such packets exist.
5. Produce workbooks such as are already available for textbooks of other languages to accompany major Russian textbooks.
6. Set up a chain through which interested volunteers can transmit new materials and ideas. (A procedure for starting such a chain was later established.)
7. Strongly encourage Institute participants to maintain contact by grouping together according to region or interest for the purpose of

exchanging materials and experiences. The demise of the NEH *Connection Newsletter* caused much regret.

Workshop Report: PROFESSIONAL CONCERNS

David Morgan Frost, Georgetown University, Law School

This group's discussion dealt with the political problems of the pedagogical profession, as well as with the difficulty of obtaining funding. These two problems are linked, and their solutions may be found together. The first problem is insufficient funding.

The second problem is the relationship of other academics to their colleagues in the pedagogical field. The general consensus among members of the group is that the field of Russian is divided into two major parts: linguistics and literature. Pedagogy is perceived as not being an intellectual pursuit and somehow not worthy of the hallowed halls of academia. It was observed that obtaining tenure as a pedagogical specialist is virtually impossible in most institutions and that this difficulty has been the source of several lawsuits.

Some of the most intriguing observations dealt with the fact that pedagogical specialists are ignoring potentially strong allies. The first of these is the business community and the second, surprisingly, is the very group of colleagues who look down on pedagogy.

Carol Logan has had a great deal of success with the Green Bay business community which has shown a willingness to support pedagogy. Marilyn Hoogen has had some degree of difficulty in her relationship with the Seattle business community and has said that they seem to expect a great deal of free translating and other services. With business contacts with the Soviet Union on the rise, however, an increased demand for people who speak Russian will give the business community a strong incentive to support the teaching of Russian. Persons interested in establishing contacts between their local business community and their fellow Russian teachers might do well to contact Carol or Marilyn for some guidance.

Bill Odom of the University of Southern Mississippi has enjoyed great success with pedagogical specialists from other languages. He was able to bring together teachers of various languages, to apply pressure on the administration, and to "hustle big bucks" from the local business community. Bill has also managed to develop some political contacts which have proven helpful to the Russian program at Southern Mississippi. He is willing to offer counsel to anyone interested in advancing the status of pedagogy in his/her department or university.

Finally, it was generally agreed that we might have powerful tools for advancing our cause already in place in the form of organizations such as the American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR) and the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages (AATSEEL). Leslie Johnson suggested that these organizations could provide a forum for discussion of topics like the status of pedagogy.

The group believed that Russian may have something of an advantage now because of the current interest in things Slavic. To maximize this advantage, Zane Phoenix suggested that attention be devoted to the idea of combining language knowledge with other specialties. Companies like IBM will need speakers of Russian; but they will need these speakers to be conversant not only in basic Russian but, for example, in computer terminology as well. We could strengthen our position even further through an alliance with the technical specialties.

If one builds a better mousetrap, people will beat a path to one's door. If pedagogy makes it clear that we are offering a valuable service, then support and respect should not be hard to come by. We should tailor our endeavors to fill needs and wants not only of our students but also of their future employers.

Workshop Report: TEACHER PREPARATION

Frederick Johnson, Northfield Mt. Hermon School

This discussion group elected to explore a range of different issues relating to the field of Russian teaching. We dealt with teacher preparation and "maintenance" and tried to identify needs of the profession in this context. The following main points emerged from our discussion:

1. We should consider what type of graduate program would best prepare people to teach in high schools and colleges. College programs should include teacher preparation for language courses in addition to the standard linguistics and literature courses. Useful components of a

college program to prepare teachers of Russian language would include:
   a. College-level methods courses firmly grounded in instructional theory for in-service teacher training.
   b. Russian-specific courses which draw from the creative and successful methods on second language acquisition research.
   c. The techniques of conducting multi-level classrooms.
   d. Videotaping practice teaching to analyze teacher effectiveness.

2. We need to institute "idea-swap" sections at leading language conferences such as American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages (AATSEEL), TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) and The Northeast Conference to provide professionals with a kind of "Linguistic Flea Market" which could include demonstrations of techniques. In general, Russian teachers need to become more involved with the professional organizations and publications which are involved in the most creative, fresh and interesting work.

3. A profile of the typical Russian language teacher needs to be described, since the field presents different challenges. Some of the special factors with which he/she must contend include:
   a. The necessity of teaching multi-level classrooms, not an unusual situation, especially in the public school.
   b. The workload that one-person programs entail: the teaching of extra classes over and above normal responsibilities.
   c. The necessity of travelling to the Soviet Union on a regular basis to upgrade language skills and cultural awareness, especially at a time when Soviet society is changing so rapidly. Subsequently, teachers need to be made aware of an expanding array of funded programs administered by organizations such as the American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR) and the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) which answer these needs.
   d. There is a clear and persistent need to create, amass and share authentic materials of all kinds which abound in other language fields but which are few and far between in Russian.

4. Networking was identified as a basic and clear need for teacher stimulation and program enrichment so critical for "maintenance." Disseminating information about regional resource centers (and their newsletters and occasional papers), workshops, conferences and symposia is vital, as is the establishment of electronic mail and multimedia links to help those in areas far from major Russian centers.

5. Finally, in order to infuse the profession with excellent teachers, we should strongly encourage our top students to consider teaching careers and to travel to the Soviet Union as often as possible; and we should provide information to them on the best programs and opportunities in the field.

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